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Culture, ideology, and dwelling in two Dominican villages

Study of the contrasting response to modernization in 2 Dominican villages. Author demonstrates that this contrast is caused by the intentional use of 2 culturally specific ideologies aimed at achieving and maintaining existential security. He also shows that the constitution of the 2 ideologies was conditioned by the ideosyncratic constitution of cultural-ethnic identity, nationalism, and peasant consciousness.

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## CULTURE, IDEOLOGY, AND DWELLING IN TWO DOMINICAN VILLAGES

September 29, 1966. At seven o'clock in the morning, after meandering for hours through the churning Caribbean Sea, Hurricane Inés' two-hundred kilometer-per-hour winds slammed into Blue Mountain and Green Savannah, two adjacent Dominican peasant villages. Twenty minutes later, devastated by the sight of what had been their houses and farms, Montañeros (the residents of Blue Mountain) and Sabaneros (those of Green Savannah) began the painful task of identifying the dozens of dead and missing in this arid, mostly flat, frontier region known as the Deep South (see Figure 1).

Just a few days after the disaster, Montañeros and Sabaneros were already busy reconstructing their communities. As in other peasant regions, crops and animals formed the core of material security and were woven into the fabric of social life and symbolic expression. No wonder then that, in their pursuit of security, the inhabitants of both villages turned their immediate energy to replanting the *conucos* (small farm plots – the word is Taino) and taking care of the cows and hogs. The line between death and survival, continuity and change, was neatly drawn.

The Sunday morning of September 29, 1979 was hot and calm. In place of the ceaseless howl of a hurricane, what altered the normal pace of daily life in Blue Mountain and Green Savannah was the strange, metallic noise of a husky red tractor plowing the dry, reddish soil of the three-hectare farm belonging to Vicente, a Montañero peasant. This impressive piece of technology had arrived as part of a state-sponsored project to cultivate hybrid sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*) for animal feed. From the perspective of the recently elected government, the promotion of the new cash crop

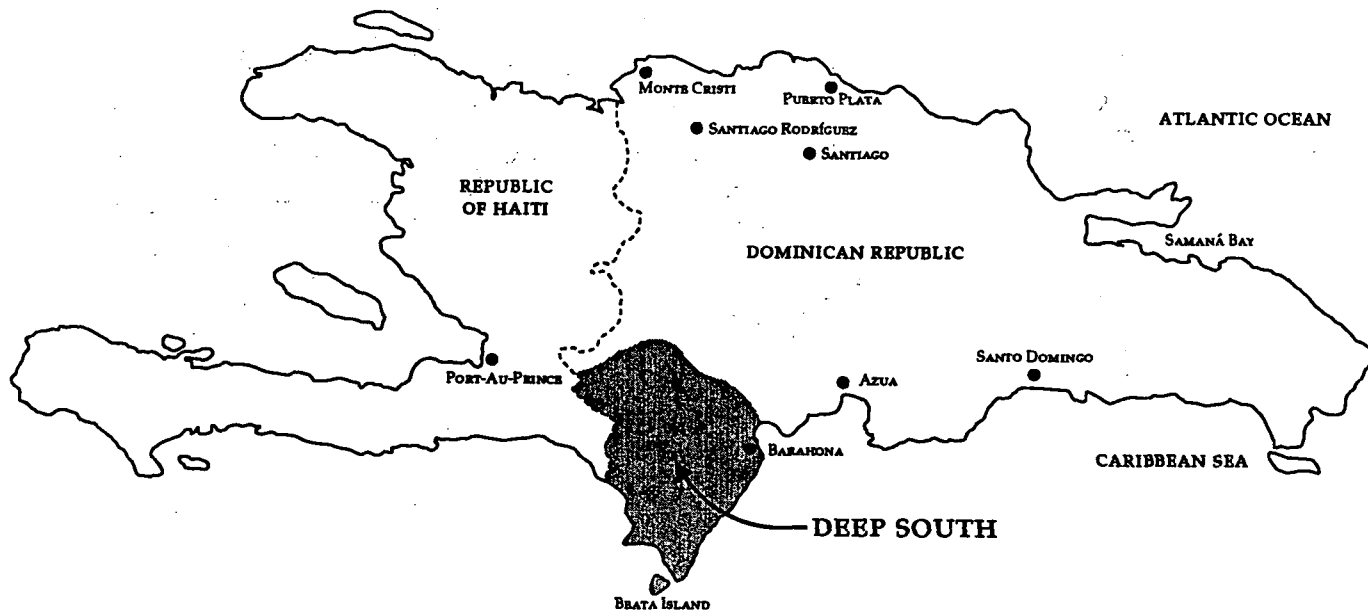


Figure 1. General Map of Hispaniola, With Main Locations

had three interconnected goals: to support the privately owned poultry industry based in the nation's capital; to increase the real salary (as defined by formal economists) of low-income families, southern peasants included; and to promote social justice and progress in the Deep South, then as now one of the country's less developed regions.

As with Hurricane Inés, sorghum cultivation transfigured daily life in Blue Mountain and Green Savannah. It also set off profound and unprecedented socio-economic changes such as sharp increases in income; rapid transformation of the household division of labor; erosion of long-lived patterns of production, distribution, consumption, and reproduction; the diversification of sources of capital accumulation; the reshaping of the local power structure, an increase in the complexity of the social relations (along lines of class, gender, and generation) within the two villages; a thicker bureaucratization of the relationships between peasants and the larger society (from merchants to state apparatus); and adjustments in local values and expectations.

Neither the unambiguous demarcation between life and death nor the similarity of Montañero and Sabanero responses to despair in 1966 was repeated in the process of acute social change that sorghum cultivation triggered exactly thirteen years later. In contrast to the transparent situation created by Hurricane Inés, the shift defined by agricultural modernization was distinctively opaque. It is precisely the ambiguity accompanying the transformation of their social spaces that Montañeros and Sabaneros present metaphorically when they say that since the introduction of sorghum cultivation, life in their villages has become "an underground hurricane." What follows is a synopsis of that multifaceted experience.

One might expect that the inhabitants of two villages that are just four miles apart and have a similar "infrastructure" (as defined by land holding size, physical environment, family structure, population density, technology, and climate) would follow a similar pattern of conduct in the face of modernization. But Montañeros and Sabaneros acted in significantly different ways while facing comparable structural constraints and being equally exposed to the official discourse used to promote and legitimate the modernization of their *conucos*.

Although Montañeros and Sabaneros' ambiguous engagement with sorghum cultivation over the years resists any rigid, dichotomous analysis, a brief look at what occurred during the 1979-82 period helps us understand the contrasting response to modernization in the two villages. Briefly, most Sabaneros – in contrast to Montañeros – neither sold their livestock nor eliminated their long-lived *conucos* in order to grow the new cash crop. While nearly 80 percent of the Montañeros gave up their



traditional system of production, less than 5 percent of the Sabaneros did so. The many Sabaneros who eventually adopted sorghum cultivation took nearly twice as long as Montañeros to make the same decision. More importantly, the majority of Sabaneros who became sorghum growers did not abandon the *conucos* that provided them with food for their own consumption (use-value) and for trade (exchange-value), as well as sense of personal identity. On the contrary, they did everything they could to protect them.

That we are dealing here with complex cultural and ideological phenomena becomes apparent when one hears Sabaneros, in everyday discourse, referring to themselves as “people who grow food,” and to Montañeros as “people who only know how to plant sorghum and look after their animals.” When Montañeros are confronted by such a harsh criticism of their rather hasty abandonment of the *conuco*, they often justify their action by characterizing themselves as *pasionistas* – people with an impulsive character. In spite of their biases, these remarks reveal a great deal of how inhabitants of the two villages perceive themselves and are perceived by their Other as well. As we shall see, these discursive strategies play a key role in the social construction of reality in Blue Mountain and Green Savannah.

How can we explain the dissimilar praxes of Montañeros and Sabaneros in the face of comparable structural constraints? How is their differing engagement with agricultural modernization related to their culture, ideology, race, and ethnicity? And how suggestive is this case for an understanding of the constitution of society and historical subjects in the Dominican Republic as a whole?

In this essay I intend, first, to demonstrate that what we are seeing in Blue Mountain and Green Savannah is the intentional use of two culturally specific ideologies aimed at achieving and maintaining existential security and, second, to show that the constitution of the two ideologies was conditioned by the idiosyncratic constitution of cultural-ethnic identity, nationalism, and peasant consciousness in the country’s southern and northern geographic regions. My argument hinges chiefly on an interpretation of two interconnected sets of phenomena.

First, at the time the decision was made to accept or reject sorghum cultivation, most Montañeros were *sureños* (southerners) – natives of the Deep South. In contrast, most Sabaneros were, then as now, *cibaeños* – people originally from the western section and adjacent areas of the Cibao, a rich, prosperous valley located in the northern Dominican Republic, with Santiago at its center (see Figure 1). For at least the past two centuries, the categories *sureño* and *cibaeño* have been markers of cultural-ethnic

identity (heavily influenced by racial prejudice) as well as signifiers of entitlement to the fruits of socio-economic progress.

Second, even though historically the *conuco* has been used in both the Deep South and the Cibao to grow food for internal consumption and for the market, its cultural-ethnic (hence ideological) meaning for *cibaeños* and *sureños* is different primarily (though not exclusively) for two reasons: the idiosyncratic way in which farming was interwoven with the genesis and development of nationalism and ethos at the regional level, and the different relationship the Deep South and the Cibao have had with the state apparatus in general and the central government in particular.

My story unfolds in four steps: a clarification of some key working categories and theoretical issues; second, the characterization of the Deep South and the Cibao as distinctive social spaces; the description and interpretation of Montañeros' and Sabaneros' initial ideological response to sorghum cultivation in connection with their ethos as *sureños* and *cibaeños* of a specific generation and class; and finally, the interpretation of how the two ideologies are embedded in the contrasting constitution of society and the different meaning of farming in the Deep South and the Cibao through time.

#### STRUCTURES, SELF, IDEOLOGY, AND ONTOLOGICAL SECURITY

We begin with some working definitions. In this narrative, ideology is understood as the set of practical and symbolic means deliberately used by members of specific cultures to justify defensive or aggressive actions in their attempts to achieve and maintain a sense of existential security in overtly contested social spaces framed by an asymmetric distribution of power (not exclusively political). Culture is seen as the changing, symbolically mediated, institutionalized set of practices, norms, values, and beliefs – inherited from predecessors and learned through contemporaries – which is habitually shared in daily life by a group of people at a given point in time and space. Ideology and culture influence each other; they also are concomitant with both structuration (i.e., institutionalized distribution of power for enabling or constraining action and access to resources) and utopias (i.e., social movements aimed at constructing ideal communities).

At the risk of simplifying complex theoretical and epistemological issues, these characterizations of ideology and culture imply that whereas cultures are habitually lived with a "suspension of doubt" (Schutz 1982: 229), ideologies are manipulated with a suspension of belief in the claims made by the power holders. In other words, it is the overt, systematic

combination of reflection and contestation (rather than cognition and action as such) that makes ideology different from culture. Within this conceptual framework, ideology is explicitly used for overcoming alienation, achieving social cohesiveness, and demarcating the line between Self and the Other, between Us and Them. Nowadays, ethnicity functions as ideology.

The assertion that ethnicity currently functions as ideology is based on four premises: first, the fluidity and multiformity intrinsic to the genesis, reproduction, and use of ethnic boundaries and contents; second, ethnicity's explicit connection with issues of power, perception, and purpose (Royce 1982); third, the tendency for ethnicity to be "reinvented and reinterpreted in each generation" (Sollors 1989:xi) in clear reference to personal identity or nationalism; fourth, ideology's prominent role in the dialectical interplay between resistance and integration on the one hand, and claims and beliefs on the other (Ricoeur 1968, 1991; Zizek 1991).

Even though both ethnic notions (e.g., the feeling of sharing a history, a language, a culture, and so forth) and racial characteristics (e.g., skin color, hair type, facial features) may be deliberately used to justify ideological praxes, in my opinion race (when defined in biological rather social terms) lacks the plasticity and multi-accentuality that make ethnicity such an effective instrument of oppression or resistance in the hands of knowledgeable social agents. Bluntly put, under normal circumstances one does not choose one's race; yet one can construct one's ethnicity (including the manipulation of skin color, hair type, facial features, language, and so forth) in order to cultivate a sense of belonging in a community. Of course in the ambiguous realm of praxis, the boundaries between race and ethnicity are more fluid than as presented here. Such fluidity is chiefly due to the polysemic, contextual nature of all discursive – ideological signifiers – the body in particular (Bakhtin 1968).

Hitherto, the discussion of race and ethnicity has been nearly a taboo in Dominican academic circles. And this despite of the *de facto* existence of nuanced, fluid racial-ethnic boundaries, as well as a sui generis racial prejudice in a country with an extremely high level of miscegenation. To the surprise of many, these rather hidden phenomena became evident in the 1994 presidential elections when the "blackness" (or "Haitianness") of one of the candidates was disdainfully used by the others as an indication of his presumed anti-Dominican intentions.

It is fair to say that the neglect of ethnicity in the country is the outgrowth of three interconnected phenomena: the presence next door of Haiti, the Other *par excellence* in Dominicans' consciousness since the early nineteenth century; the consolidation during the Trujillo dictatorship

(1930-61) of a hegemonic, nationalistic ideology to which the claim for racial-ethnic homogeneity among *all Dominicans* was central; and the overemphasis put on structures at the expense of human agency for explaining social movements. As a result of this last position, the analysis of Dominicans' objective class membership has received far more attention than the understanding of other sources of group solidarity and personal identity (e.g., territory, work place, gender, generation, race, ethnicity).

An easy solution to the challenge posed by racial-ethnic diversity has been to define the republic as a "mulatto community" (Pérez Cabral 1967) while labelling Haiti as a black, backward nation (Balaguer 1983). In so doing, the demonization of the Other was not the only goal achieved by Dominican public intellectuals in the present century; that act of naming also hindered the appreciation of the country's cultural complexity.<sup>1</sup>

Despite such a stubborn neglect of race and ethnicity by the Dominican intelligentsia, Dominicans are very aware in daily life of regional differences in language, racial characteristics, religious and agricultural practices, architectural styles, food habits, and so forth. Some of those differences, in language for instance, are unequivocal; others, like religious beliefs, are less tangible.<sup>2</sup> For example, according to the stereotypes prevalent in Dominican society, people from the south are black and backward, and practitioners of *brujería* or witchcraft. People from the north, by contrast, tend to present themselves as whites, industrious citizens, "good peasants," and devoted Catholics. Objectively such dichotomies are difficult to defend. Nevertheless, in specific circumstances, these perceived differences may signify ethnically-linked ideologies in the country.

A focus on the concept of "dwelling" in this exploration of the role of culture and ideology in the praxes of Montañeros and Sabaneros will help underscore the philosophical dimension of peasants' existence. This is not mutually exclusive with my interest in understanding peasants' utilitarian, mundane pursuits and interests as people who make a living by performing "domestically organized agricultural production within state societies" (Silverman 1983:27). In other words, comprehending Montañeros and Sabaneros' ethos or "structure of feelings" (Williams 1985) is as important for my story as understanding their economic rationality.

Thus, in addition to the previous structuralist definition of peasants, I would like to emphasize that peasants are also human beings who survive by staying as authentic, persistent dwellers of a social space or a dwelling. Here I align myself with Heidegger's (1977:327-28) ontological assertion that "human being consists in dwelling, and indeed, dwelling in the sense of stay ... the basic character of dwelling is to spare, to preserve."

Viewing Montañeros and Sabaneros as authentic dwellers, however, does not entail subscribing to an essentialist, ahistorical interpretation of their quest for security in the face of social change. Instead this ontological stance postulates that the physical space used by peasants for instrumentalist purposes also provides them with the foundations (material and spiritual alike) to ask themselves existential questions such as: Who am I? What is my mission in life? This argument is persuasively presented by Foucault (1988:16-19) when he asserts that the "technologies of the self" are closely interwoven with the technologies of production, of signs and systems, and of power.

Paying equal attention to reason and affect will help us understand that Montañeros' and Sabaneros' intentional engagement with sorghum was mediated both by their projection of the new cash crop's advantages and disadvantages (their aspirations as land cultivators) and by their ethos as dwellers – that is, the meaning that preserving or abandoning the *conuco* had for them as *sureños* and *cibaeños* with a particular set of values.

#### SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN THE DEEP SOUTH AND THE CIBAO

The Deep South is a solitary land. At the time of my fieldwork, its population density of twenty persons per square kilometer sharply contrasted with the national average of 117. A nuclear family unit of two parents and six children was typical of the area in 1978. Nearly half of the 6,200 inhabitants resided in Blue Mountain and roughly six hundred in Green Savannah. The rest lived in smaller villages scattered through the dry terrain. Water is scarce in most of the Deep South. Unless there is a hurricane or a tropical storm, Montañeros and Sabaneros depended on just 800 millimeters of rainfall each year to grow food. As of this writing, there is neither irrigation nor running water in either village.

In 1990, land holding was comparable in Blue Mountain and Green Savannah, ranging from less than one hectare to seventy hectares, excluding the larger farms owned by a couple of landlords. At the time of my fieldwork most peasants from both places owned more than one farm each. With a couple of exceptions, peasants had no land titles. The land market is a recent phenomenon in the area. Uncultivated common lands, formally owned by the state, were abundant in 1990. Montañeros' cattle herds roamed freely on the extensive common lands, locally known as *tierras orejanas* (unmarked, free lands). Sabaneros kept their animals in enclosed fields or *potreros*. Dozens of peasants still utilized shifting cultivation to grow crops other than sorghum.

Blue Mountain has been, since 1958, the seat of a *municipio* (roughly

equivalent to a county). After being obliterated by Hurricane Inés in 1966, the village was rebuilt three miles inland, away from the nearby salt lagoon whose turbulent waters did so much damage during the natural disaster.

Green Savannah, a division of the county, became an agricultural colony in the mid-1950s when the government built new houses and gave away free land to the new colonists, most of whom were *cibaeños*. Even though Hurricane Inés also obliterated this village, the government decided to rebuild it in its original location.

At the time of my fieldwork, most Montañeros were *sureños*. Rather than adherence to a regional cultural (i.e. *sureña* culture), Montañeros stress their loyalty to their local culture. This culture is deeply rooted in the instrumental and communicative spheres of ranching, hunting, and gathering. For instance, killing a wild hog is still a common rite of passage to manhood. Likewise, for Montañeros, being a prosperous rancher is the ultimate symbol of prestige.

In 1990 most Sabaneros were still natives of the Cibao, La Línea, and La Sierra – conterminous northern regions whose residents generally call themselves *cibaeños*. Despite intraregional differences, *cibaeños* share core elements of the heterogeneous *cibaeña* culture (e.g., linguistic style, “pure” Catholicism). Farming epitomizes *cibaeña* culture. So does perceived whiteness. “To think white,” Antonini (1968:151) indicates – in my view correctly – has been a distinctive identity marker for northern dwellers since the early stages of Dominican history.

Sabaneros began migrating as colonists from the north to the Deep South in the mid-1950s, as part of a racially-based official policy aimed at “Dominicanizing” the border with Haiti and expanding the agricultural frontier as well. That migration continued until the early 1970s.

A sense of exclusion is pervasive in the Deep South, particularly in Blue Mountain. In 1990, while traveling in a public bus, a shy twelve-year-old girl sitting next to me started vomiting blood, her dark eyes wide open, her pale face sweating profusely. Just a few days earlier, according to other passengers, while standing in a line to buy food at a government-owned store, the girl was sharply hit on her back by a soldier who thought she was making too much noise. Though a subtle protest took place on the day of the incident, nobody dared to confront the soldier. He was a *guardia de la frontera*, a border guard.

It is precisely their perceived isolation that Montañeros express when they call the few visitors to the region *forasteros* (foreigners). The way locals see themselves in relation to the rest of the country is also manifested in their behavior when traveling to the capital. Indeed, when the bus from Blue Mountain passes a certain point on the rolling road, people

often exclaim "*ya salimos a lo claro*" literally, "we just came out into the clear." (The strength of the metaphor is highlighted by the complementary notion of "*de lo oscuro*" – out of the darkness, obscurity, remoteness). This feeling of exclusion and isolation notwithstanding, at no point since the conquest has the Deep South been detached from either the larger society or the world economy.

The Deep South's relative lack of socio-economic progress has been attributed in part to the late arrival of capitalism in the region (Baud 1986). According to this interpretation, while capitalism flourished in the northern and southeastern regions as early as the 1870s, it truly arrived in the Deep South only after the first U.S. military occupation of the republic in 1916. This theory of "late capitalism" has been uncritically used to suggest the existence of a backward culture among *sureños*. And one indication of such backwardness, so the argument goes, is the rather naive conduct (or false consciousness) of peasants like Montañeros, who are unable to see the danger inherent in state initiatives such as sorghum cultivation.

Useful as the above theory may be for examining the structural dimension of regionalization in the country, it is not sufficient for understanding the lived experience of Montañeros and Sabaneros. Indeed, despite the relative underdevelopment of the Deep South as a whole, there is ample ethnographic and historical evidence that capitalism has heavily impacted Montañeros' lives since at least 1870, when a privately owned salt mine was established in Isla Beata, just a few miles off shore from Blue Mountain. Dozens of Montañeros worked for wages at the mine until the mid-1930s, when it was closed down by President Rafael L. Trujillo.

In addition to working on the extraction of salt, over the years hundreds of Montañeros have worked for wages in felling trees for exportation, building the infrastructure for the bauxite mine established in the mid-1940s in an adjacent town, and clearing and picking cotton at the plantation that has operated in the area since 1957, among other jobs. It is worth noticing that when the bauxite mine was being built, a few Montañero peasants sold agricultural products to Alcoa Exploration, the owner of the industry. By the same token, earlier in this century, when roads did not exist in the Deep South, a variety of agricultural products grown by local peasants were shipped by boat from a small sea port near Green Savannah to several Dominican coastal cities, including the capital.

Rather than lack of capitalist development, then, what epitomizes the economy of the region is the operation of extractive enclaves using cheap labor and abundant natural resources. This has resulted in an uneven exchange between the Deep South and the larger society. Likewise, as will become apparent in the following section, what typifies peasants from

the Deep South is not a false consciousness but rather a concrete "horizon of expectations" (Korselleck, quoted by Ricoeur 1991:218) constructed through the multifaceted experiences (capitalism included) lived and internalized by Montañeros.

In sharp contrast with the generalized perception of the Deep South as a backward region, admiration for the Cibao's material wealth and beauty is pervasive in the republic at large. The Cibao has been the epicenter of major economic, political, and religious events throughout Dominican history. To name but a few, it was in the valley and adjacent areas that the spread of Catholicism in Hispaniola started as early as 1493, followed by the construction of roads in the early sixteenth century, the birth and development of a highly profitable tobacco industry nearly two centuries ago, the victorious War of Restoration of 1863-65 (ending annexation to Spain), and the construction of irrigation canals in the region's western section in the early years of the twentieth century.

*Cibaños* are proud of being related to this symbol of bounty and nationalism. The fact that the vast majority of the fifty-one Dominican presidents and national rulers have been *cibaños* (nearly all whites) reinforces regional pride. No wonder that to the often-heard saying that "It's in the capital that cheques are made," *cibaños* respond that "It's in the Cibao that God dwells" ("*En el Cibao es que está Dios*").

This paradise-like image of the Cibao notwithstanding, a hidden land of poverty has existed for decades in the specific areas and communities where most Sabaneros started their involuntary journey to the Deep South. Those poorer areas represent, so to speak, the other side of the coin in the Cibao. It is this veiled reality that Sabaneros uncover when they refer to their northern place of origin as "a backward and hot zone" ("*una zona atrazada y caliente*").

Georges (1990) argues, in my view convincingly, that two structural causes of the areas' backwardness in the mid-1950s were the creation of two national parks and the monopolization of timber land (mostly pine forest) by Trujillo and a couple of powerful northern families. According to Georges, while facing the combination of those two processes, peasants from La Sierra and adjacent areas were "caught in a vise" (1990:62). These "push factors," together with Trujillo's determination to "Dominicanize" the frontier with Haiti, explain Sabaneros' migration to the Deep South.

Two different Cibaos emerge from the previous synopsis: one prosperous, the other indigent. For present purposes we need not trace the roots of the uneven development in the Cibao, La Línea, and La Sierra. What demands our attention instead is that, in spite of their poverty in a land of



plenty, northern Sabaneros not only systematically express their pride in being *cibaeños* but do so using two main symbols: their perceived qualifications as "good peasants," and their felt whiteness. Because of the social context in which such symbols are displayed, they become markers of racial-ethnic boundaries between *cibaeños* and *sureños*.

The meeting of Montañeros and Sabaneros transformed the Deep South into a new, more complex social space. The cultural exchange inherent in such an extraordinary event contributed to the configuration of at least three ambiguous frontiers in the region: the political one separating the Haitian and Dominican republics, the cultural-ethnic frontier between *cibaeños* and *sureños*, and third the ideological frontier signified by Montañeros' and Sabaneros' unique expectations as citizens of the nation-state (the interplay of civil society and the state, in Gramscian terms). A common denominator of all three frontiers is the subjective feeling of inclusion or exclusion, of belonging or not belonging to social spaces inhabited (and often contested) by the Other and structured by the presence of institutions (the state included).

#### CAPITAL, RECOGNITION, ETHOS, AND IDEOLOGY

A complex system of production existed in Blue Mountain and Green Savannah prior to the arrival of sorghum cultivation. Suffice it to say here that some peasants sold to outside merchants a variety of products that included yucca (cassava tubers), squash, sweet potatoes, hogs, and cows. Labor by women and children was a vital input for this multicropping system. Hunting and gathering were used to meet the household's consumption needs, particularly in Blue Mountain. Dozens of women from Green Savannah worked for wages in harvesting and packing peanuts, then the main cash crop in the village. Peanuts were the only crop grown by peasants exclusively to supply a national industry (for manufacturing cooking oil). A few women from Blue Mountain sold some local agricultural products in a couple of adjacent towns. Likewise, women, men, and children from both villages worked as wage laborers on the cotton plantation, especially during the harvest season.

Because Green Savannah is an agricultural colony, the National Institute for Land Reform provided Sabaneros with some assistance for farming (i.e., tractors, seeds). This linkage with the official agency notwithstanding, the colonists had, then as now, almost total freedom to grow the crops of their choice. This rather unusual situation was caused chiefly by the erosion of state control over the colonists' *conucos* and the secularization of power that followed the fall of Trujillo's regime in 1961. In Blue Mountain

prior to 1978, only occasionally did the public agencies venture into Montañeros' *conucos*.

The arrival of sorghum in Blue Mountain and Green Savannah was mediated by the interplay between national priorities and local expectations. Undoubtedly, the newly-elected government gave decisive support to the project (i.e., massive technical and financial assistance) in part because sorghum was a major source of capital accumulation for the owners of the national poultry industry. Likewise, local sorghum growers expected to make a substantial profit by means of growing a crop they knew was in high demand. However, for most local dwellers the new cash crop represented more than just a potential monetary gain; it also was a symbol of recognition by the Other. In other words, in that situation political economy and social ontology were concurrent.

In part because of the national consensus that followed the 1978 presidential elections, the usually tense relationship between peasants and the state became more relaxed in 1979. Similarly, the slogan "The Shift" (*El Cambio*), used by the winning party to symbolize redistributive justice, gave birth to a short-lived utopia in which struggle and recognition were intertwined. Hence when Antonio Guzmán, the new (and *cibaeño*) president, claimed that he was both "the president farmer" and "the president of all Dominicans," Montañeros and Sabaneros listened attentively with both hope and distrust.

The expectations triggered by the new project were particularly high in Blue Mountain, chiefly because of the deep sense of exclusion shared by Montañeros. Simply put, from the mid-1950s to the arrival of sorghum cultivation the only major official initiative explicitly aimed at helping the two villages consisted of the new houses and public facilities (e.g., schools, town square, government offices) built by the government after Hurricane Inés. This epitomized the situation in the Deep South as a whole. In the Cibao, by contrast, the government spent millions on the construction of infrastructure, especially hydroelectric dams, paved roads, and irrigation systems. It is hardly surprising then that in the eyes of most Montañeros sorghum cultivation denoted a major shift in the government's interest in the Deep South and its inhabitants.

The way the new project was perceived in Blue Mountain is well illustrated by Pedro, a Montañero peasant. "We never thought that the government was really willing to help us this way," said Pedro to indicate what he and his neighbors felt when they saw the huge tractor working on the plots of poor peasants. "I never thought that those important people from up there cared about little, poor people like us," he added, with a tone of perplexity in his voice. The only other occasion in which

Montañeros had seen such a massive display of technology was in the mid-1950s, when the cotton plantation was established. Back then, however, the big tractors were not helping peasants to modernize their farms; instead, they were destroying the *conucos* in order to grow cotton and benefit a powerful capitalist from Central America who had close ties with the government.

Although Green Savannah was far from being a prosperous village when sorghum arrived, Sabaneros' expectations of the project were not as high as those of Montañeros. The contrast may be traced to several inter-related phenomena.

First, while Blue Mountain was rebuilt on a new site following Hurricane Inés, Green Savannah was reconstructed on the same terrain it had been on prior to the disaster. In both material and ideational terms this circumstance gave continuity to Sabaneros' individual and collective projects, while introducing an element of fragmentation into Montañeros' lives. Second, whereas the majority of Montañeros were supporters of the new government, most Sabaneros opposed it. In that context, politics conditioned the dwellers' perception of their entitlement to government support. Third, whereas Sabaneros' systematic growing of crops (chiefly peanuts) for commercial purposes prior to and after their migration to the south had exposed them to commercial capitalism *as peasants*, most Montañeros had dealt with the market economy primarily *as herdsmen* by selling their animals (cows and hogs in particular) to outside merchants. It is precisely such a differential experience with capitalism and their attitudes toward the new cash crop that Montañeros express when they say that, prior to sorghum cultivation, they cultivated the land mostly for tradition or "*siembra por tradición*," and raised their animals "*por interés*" (ranching "for interest"), whereas after modernization both farming and ranching are done "for interest." I never heard Sabaneros saying that they ever worked the land or raised animals "for tradition."<sup>3</sup> Finally, whereas Sabaneros' lived experience and ethos as *cibaeños* predisposed them to protecting the *conuco* as much as possible, Montañeros' outlook as *sureños* predisposed them to taking extraordinary risks with their crops. This last point will become clearer in my discussion of the ethos in the two villages.

The rejection of sorghum entailed renouncing a relative large sum of money. Indeed, from being an unknown crop in 1978 sorghum became the most important cash crop in the area by 1984. Altogether during the period 1979-87, sorghum cultivation was responsible for the circulation in the local economy of a sum equivalent to nearly two and a half million U.S. dollars. Such a large amount of money had major social and cultural con-

sequences. For example, at least thirty Montañeros bought houses in Santo Domingo, others sent their children to college, and nearly all purchased new home appliances and furniture. It is when projected against this background of prosperity that the rejection of sorghum by a large number of peasants is so puzzling.

To continue our reconstruction of Montañeros' and Sabaneros' engagement with sorghum, let us look into other quantitative and qualitative data pertaining to the acceptance or rejection of the new crop as well as the preservation or abandonment of the long-lived system of production.

Out of twenty-six Montañeros surveyed, fourteen (53.8 percent) said that they planted sorghum for the first time in 1979, and five (19.2 percent) that they became sorghum growers in the second year. Significantly, no respondent said that he began planting the new crop during the 1984-86 period, and only one indicated that his first experience with sorghum was in 1987.

Whereas sorghum cultivation started in Blue Mountain in 1979, in Green Savannah that process was initiated in 1980. According to the agronomist most directly involved in the implementation of the project, this difference in time was due to his decision to concentrate the available resources (i.e., tractors, mechanical planters, seeds) on one location instead of trying to work simultaneously in both places. In those terms, there is nothing mysterious about the nearly absolute lack of sorghum in Sabaneros' parcels in 1979.

One comes to a different conclusion, however, when noticing that only two (8 percent) Sabanero respondents said that they planted sorghum in 1980, and only three (12 percent) became sorghum growers in 1981. What this means is that in the period 1979-1981, 81 percent of the respondents from Blue Mountain, but only 23 percent of the respondents from Green Savannah, became sorghum growers. It is also worth noticing that it was in 1982, three years after the launch of modernization, that the majority of Sabanero respondents (54 percent) made the decision to plant the new cash crop. Further, whereas during the same period most Montañeros totally stopped growing food when they accepted the new cash crop, the overwhelming majority of sorghum growers in Green Savannah preserved their *conucos* and continued growing food for internal consumption. It is clear that during the period under consideration engagement with the new crop in the two villages was significantly different.

A more complex picture of the interrelation of culture, ethnicity, and ideology in the Deep South develops when one examines the conduct of the few *cibaeños* residing in Blue Mountain of 1990. From the beginning, most of those Montañeros from the Cibao combined the cultivation of

food with the acceptance of sorghum cultivation. However, instead of preserving the *conucos* in which they had grown food for years, most of them established new ones deep into the common lands, and devoted the old ones (with fewer stones) to sorghum cultivation.<sup>4</sup>

Although the data discussed above help us answer the “what” and “how” questions they are insufficient for understanding the role of culture and ethnicity in the ideological rejection or acceptance of sorghum in the two villages. To do so, we need to go deeper into the ethos, experiences, and social projects of Sabaneros and Montañeros.

Let us first examine the contrasting ethos of these communities.<sup>5</sup> The ethos in Blue Mountain is expressed through four main existential forms: Endurance (i.e., bodily and mental strength), Suffering (i.e., spiritual strength), Belongingness (i.e., inclusion into/exclusion from the larger society), and Pleasure (i.e., spiritual and physical joy). In the case of Green Savannah, the ethos of its dwellers from the north (i.e., the Cibao, La Línea, La Sierra) is expressed through the existential forms of Self-Respect (i.e., taking care of one’s self and the family), Compassion-Faith (i.e., generosity with others, respect for and fear of God), Involvement (i.e., social responsibility), and Fairness (i.e., sense of justice). I will start with the interpretation of the ethos in Green Savannah, using the stories of Juan and Julio for heuristic purposes.<sup>6</sup>

In early June of 1990, Juan, a Sabanero from La Sierra with whom I used to play dominoes nearly every day, told me he was going to miss our entertainment because he had to do “a little work in the forest.” At first I thought he was talking about charcoal-making, which is an illegal activity some Sabaneros do when they face a shortage of money or fuel. Juan disappeared for nearly a month, coming out of the thick, dry forest just once in a while to visit his wife. To my surprise, when I dropped by his plot at the end of July I saw that Juan not only had made several kilns to make charcoal but had also planted four crops in his new *conuco* or *tumba*.<sup>7</sup>

Juan kept working on the land until the rains finally came in early August. Since his plot was well suited for sorghum cultivation, I asked Juan whether he was going to plant the cereal after uprooting the stumps. He looked at me, his face covered with sweat, his eyes friendly as usual: “No,” he said, “I won’t grow sorghum on this land; sorghum brings hunger to people. I want to plant what I and my family can eat. When I see that we lack yucca, I feel restless.”

Neither Juan’s commitment to growing food for himself and his family nor his anxiety when he does not see certain crops growing in his *conuco* are isolated phenomena in Green Savannah. Instead, they are two indications of the values shared by most Sabaneros. This is clearly discernible

from the following definition of a "good peasant," given to me by a Sabanero.

A man who had the reputation of being a particularly industrious, ingenious peasant in Green Savannah, Julio was one of the first Sabaneros who migrated from the Cibao to the south. He also was one of the most vehement defenders of the belief that Montañeros only know how to grow sorghum in their modernized *conucos* and look after their cattle herds in the common lands. Curiously, Julio himself is a sorghum grower. Why, then, is he so critical of Montañeros' acceptance of sorghum? Let us listen to his argument as a *cibaeño* peasant.

"They are not good peasants," said Julio in reference to Montañeros. "We peasants have to grow our own food," he continued, speaking in a rather philosophical tone. "Because if I live in the countryside and I don't grow yucca, then what am I doing staying here? Growing food is a peasant's main *hold in life*, after his family. He may have a pig and a cow, but he ought to have his *conuco* to be able to harvest his yucca, his food."

It is based on this cultural notion of what a genuine peasant ought to do *in order to stay in his dwelling* that Julio and other Sabaneros blamed the Montañeros' decision to not preserve their *conucos* as a buffer for tough times. "They are not peasants, they do not grow food, they only grow sorghum and raise cows," Julio insisted in a vehement tone.

Juan and Julio's views on the existential meaning of the *conuco* illustrate the working of the notion of Self-Respect. They also show the prominent role of farming as a marker of Sabaneros' cultural-ethnic identity. *Cibaeño* peasants of the generation we are dealing with will likely feel ashamed if they are unable to have some food in the *conuco* for home-consumption. Further, failure to be a "good" peasant is perceived as having no respect for yourself. Ultimately, such a failure means that one is unable to take care of oneself.

It does not follow, however, that autarky in itself is a goal for Sabaneros. Instead what this existential form depicts is that *cibaeña* culture is deeply grounded in the value of protecting the family's "hold in life" (the *conuco*) while taking advantage of the market whenever possible. The underlying ethical principle is that one ought to be responsible and resilient in life, especially when the well-being of one's family and community is at stake.

Despite the apparent rigidity in Juan's and Julio's outlook, I hasten to say that flexibility is a characteristic of most Sabaneros. One can safely argue that daily life in Green Savannah oscillates between a rather conservative set of values and the proclivity to negotiate and progress. This is clearly discernible from the metaphor "*un hombre de loma y de llano*"

("a man from both the slopes and the plain") one often hears in the villages. When northern Sabaneros use this metaphor, they mean a "rounded" person who is able to perform equally well at different and somewhat contrasting levels of his/her social roles, say farming and fishing. Likewise, the metaphor means that a person should be flexible and creative while facing the ambiguities of life. A key discursive and ideological marker for Sabaneros, this metaphor epitomizes their culturally rich, ingenious common-sense knowledge. It is also a key component of Sabaneros' ethnic identity.

Sabaneros' ideological response to sorghum cultivation was embedded in the notion of Self-Respect. What I mean by this is twofold. First, we see Sabaneros actively engaged in the protection of their *conucos* as a vital component of one's dwelling. Second, while at first we see most of them prudently avoiding the new cash crop (hence contesting, suspending the belief in the claim made by the government), we later witness them making the decision to grow a crop that represented higher incomes (hence accommodating). The interplay between reason and affect is obvious.

Let us now turn to the situation in Blue Mountain. An ethos of personal courage is pervasive among Montañeros. This existential form I term Endurance. Endurance is symbolized by two key historical characters: first, the *montero*, the courageous, audacious, lawless hog and goat hunter who survives in the wilderness with his rifle and dogs; second, the *cimarrón* or maroon who for centuries resisted European oppression by escaping to remote areas. Although currently only a handful of hunters exist in the Deep South, and maroons as such vanished from Dominican territory long ago, their personae permeate the social fabric of Blue Mountain. For instance, in everyday life Montañeros use the term *marronear* (literally, to maroon) to convey a message of passive or active resistance to oppression.

Awareness of the strength of one's and others' body and feelings is central to the notion of Endurance. Montañeros value a person who is able to cope adequately with thirst, hard physical work, loneliness in the forest, fear, and natural death. For instance, a man who is unable to be out in the dry forest for days, all by himself, is not well regarded here. Still worse, getting lost in the wilderness is taken as an indication of a weak mind.

Endurance leads Montañeros to undertake tasks that demand an extraordinary physical and spiritual strength. It also predisposes them to take serious risks in a rather sudden way (e.g., the abandonment of the long-lived system of production) thinking that eventually they will win by beating all odds, misleading others, or just through adamant forbearance. Such

a proclivity, my argument goes, makes them simultaneously strong and weak in ideological terms.

A second existential form in Blue Mountain, Belongingness, refers to Montañeros' perception of two interconnected phenomena: who is an insider or outsider in the village as well as in their hearts; and how Montañeros relate to the larger society, the government in particular. When combined with Endurance, the existential form Belongingness leads Montañeros to adopt what I term an "ideology of extremes." The following two examples may illustrate this.

Born in 1905, Rafael was still in good shape at the time of my fieldwork. Easy smile, friendly eyes, and always in love with life, he had – as of 1990 – made more than twenty *conucos*. "I made my first *tumba* with a machete and an axe," Rafael said as if he was actually seeing himself going through that rite of passage. "I made it myself. I got no help from my father," he insisted. This awareness of his own ability and courage was with Rafael the day he started working as a wage laborer at the salt mine functioning at Isla Beata. What follows is a synopsis of his recollection of that personal experience.

When I arrived at Beata, I had many wounds on my left hand. I got them after working on my *tumba*. I had my hand bandaged, so that no one could see what had happened to me. The boss did not like that because he knew that working with salt with a hand in such bad shape would make anyone quit working after the first day on the job. I told him that my right hand was OK. He gave me the job. I worked hard, despite the pain in my hand. At the end of the day the boss asked me for my hand. I told him that everything was fine. His response was: "man, you are extraordinary!" He gave me a permanent job when he saw that I was an exceptional man who was capable of enduring pain and adjusting myself to the work discipline as well.

For our purposes, Rafael's ethos is significant for two reasons. First, his personal pride led him to work beyond normal limits, even running the risk of hurting himself. Further, his perception of himself as an extraordinary worker, when joined with the boss' view of him as a strong person, created a personal bond that could be manipulated by the dominant power holder. Rafael told me that after working at the mine for three months, even though he was making good money, he wanted to return to Blue Mountain and work on his plot. Despite the "calling of the land," Rafael remained working as a miner because he did not want to disappoint his boss. In a way, his strength ended up being Rafael's weakness. In that context, Endurance made himself vulnerable in relation to the Other.

Second, Rafael was a role model for the younger generations in part



because of his proven audacity as a miner and well-known fearlessness as a sailor in a region where most people admit to being afraid of the sea. In addition, Rafael is, then as now, a medicine man. One can safely say that his lived experience and knowledge made him a cultural broker between the village and the outside world. As many Montañeros say, "Rafael is a sage, courageous man who knows life's ups and downs." So when Montañeros heard about sorghum cultivation, many of them asked him whether growing the cereal was a good idea. The fact that he, a peasant well known for his good *conucos* and personal courage, decided to grow the new cash crop as soon as it arrived, was seen by others as a good thing to emulate. Of course I do not mean to imply that Rafael's admirers made their decision based solely upon what he did or said. Yet I suggest that Rafael's enthusiastic attitude toward sorghum cultivation actually became an endorsement of the new path of modernization in a village whose inhabitants, as we saw earlier, call themselves "passionate."

In late December 1981, Eduardo, a pioneer sorghum grower from Blue Mountain, made a gesture that signified the first overt resistance to the erosion of traditional values accompanying sorghum cultivation. His gesture also epitomizes the existential form Belongingness. On that occasion the sixty-seven-year-old peasant took his rifle in his right hand and went out to do what, in his view, a serious man ought to do when his honor is challenged. With a mixture of pride and horror, uttering just a few words to whoever asked him what was going on, he kidnapped the mechanical harvester owned by the government, indicating in unambiguous terms that if his sorghum was not harvested immediately he would take further action. Eduardo did not sleep that night. He simply sat down near the combine, accompanied by his rifle and a friend. He waited there until the next day to make sure that the operator would harvest his sorghum first thing in the morning. That was the last time he planted the cereal. Significantly, a few days later he quit growing sorghum, Eduardo planted in pasture the farm plots he had previously devoted to the cereal. No *conuco* was established for growing food. The herdsman's interest prevailed over the peasant's.

Eduardo's radical decision to quit planting sorghum was based on two convictions: first, that a serious man does not let anybody else control either his life or his property; second, that planting sorghum is bad business because "Even if the price is raised, sorghum does not pay off." With regard to the first point, Eduardo argues that if somebody else has the power to tell you when and how you have to do certain things in your private life or in the parcel that you have made "*con tus propios brazos*" (literally) "with your own arms" then you are neither free nor honorable.

In his view, the public agencies involved in sorghum cultivation are taking away too much of peasants' freedom to choose.

As ideological phenomena, the existential forms Endurance and Belongingness played a key role in Montañeros' response to sorghum cultivation. To begin with, these people took risks in a fashion that is not typical of peasants in the Dominican Republic. By this I mean that the majority of Montañero peasants abandoned the *conuco* and accepted sorghum in a rather short period of time, contrary, for example, to what most Sabaneros did. Secondly, as Eduardo's behavior illustrates, some of them replaced sorghum cultivation altogether just a couple of years after they made the decision to grow the cereal. This is a clear indication of the "ideology of extremes."

Rather than being restricted to the realm of production, this ideology of extremes seems to impregnate the totality of Montañeros' self. For instance, under normal circumstances a person who feels his or her honor has been hurt will likely cut off all contact with the other person. In some cases, this applies even to family members. At the same time that this conduct provides them with self-identity and personal psychological balance, when taken in the public sphere it makes Montañeros vulnerable in a frontier context where ambiguity is so important for everyday survival. For instance, the soldier who hit the girl (discussed above) might be the same person who decides whether or not you cross the Haitian border when you need to make some money by selling used clothes. This ideology, I would argue, is deeply grounded in Montañeros' rather stubborn confidence in their ability to escape any dangerous situation by using their physical and mental strengths.

The above characterization does not rule out Montañeros' flexibility in dealing with social conflicts. I hasten to say that they are particularly effective at using local social capital, including long-lived forms of cooperation such as the *convite* or labor pooling. This skill is clearly discernible in the metaphor "*hombre de silla y de aparejo*" that one often hears in Blue Mountain. (Literally, *hombre* means man, *silla* means a leather saddle, and *aparejo* a rustic tackle used as a saddle.) In its social context, the metaphor is indicative of how Montañeros value a man who is able to perform well at different levels, say hunting and ploughing. Although this figure of speech resembles the "*un hombre de loma y de llano*" metaphor used in Green Savannah and thus seems to suggest a similar degree of ethical flexibility in both villages, a careful analysis of discourse reveals otherwise. Let me explain what I mean by this.

What makes flexibility an idiosyncratic phenomenon in the two villages is that in daily life a Montañero man would likely adopt a rigid, stoic atti-

tude in the face of a pressing situation. I think I understood better this dimension of Montañeros' inner self on December 24, 1989, the day a young local man was killed with a sharp knife by a member of a different family group. Just before the coffin was about to be taken to the cemetery, I heard an old woman saying proudly: "Not a single tear on her face; she is a strong woman." The remark was made in reference to the mother of the deceased. She was been praised for her strength and courage. When I asked my best Montañero friend (who had blood ties with the person killed) to explain to me the meaning of the quasi-stoic attitude displayed by the woman, his answer was a rather philosophical one: "*Aquel que tiene las lágrimas lejos que comience a llorar temprano*," literally "the person whose tears are at a great distance must begin to cry early." What he meant was that crying in that context would have been indicative of personal weakness before the Other. It is based on their perception of incidents like this that Sabaneros often say that "people from Blue Mountain do not have feelings." This is but another example of how ethnic boundaries are constructed in the two village.

It is fair to say that, as a norm, a Montañero man would likely adopt a rigid attitude before taking a more flexible path. This is certainly the case when it comes to changing the local systems of production, as discussed above. Analogically speaking, the *montero's* and maroon's outlooks prevail over the peasant's worldview among Montañeros of this generation. Running the risk of being overly dichotomous in my interpretation, I would argue that a typical Sabanero of this generation would be more ambiguous in his behavior, acting like a peasant who is determined to "plant and wait," staying in his dwelling rather than "hit and run" as the *montero* does. Let us not forget, however, that we are dealing here with ideal types.

If one accepts the premise that ethos, ideologies, and utopias belong to the realm of praxis in culturally-specific situations, then one can argue that Montañeros' and Sabaneros' contrasting attitudes toward the *conuco* and sorghum is indicative of the equally distinctive social projects they had in mind when progress arrived in the Deep South. Interpreted this way, their engagement with the cereal was conditioned by how dwellers themselves perceived their mission in life, their place in society, the worth of farming, and so forth. In other words, Sabaneros' and Montañeros' economic decisions as land cultivators were deeply grounded in their unique ethical convictions (their sense of Self) as *sureños* and *cibaeños*.

A word of caution is necessary here to avoid the reification of Self. Indeed, rather than timeless essences, Sabaneros' and Montañeros' ethos and social projects have biographies that walk on history's shoulders.

Such biographies were carved out by the intentional praxis of concrete individuals belonging to specific communities (e.g., family, class, village, region, nation) with a past, a present, and a future. Thus, in order to comprehend how Sabaneros' and Montañeros' respectively lived experiences as *cibaeños* and *sureños* prior to 1979 conditioned their unique ideological response to sorghum cultivation, we need to make explicit the connection of their ethos to two other historical phenomena: first, the role of farming in the constitution of society and peasant consciousness in the Cibao and the Deep South; and second, the interrelation of structuration, ideology, utopia, and culture in the two regions. Ultimately, this reconstruction of events will serve the purpose of answering two key questions: how did Montañeros and Sabaneros perceive the new cash crop through their cultural-ethnic lenses?; and how important was the *conuco* in their social projects at the time?

#### FARMING, LIFE-NEXUS, AND CONSTITUTION OF SOCIETY

As elsewhere in the Caribbean, the constitution of a peasantry in the Dominican Republic occurred in a complex context of overt and surreptitious resistance to powerful structures and individuals, endogenous and exogenous alike. In Hispaniola the first steps toward this persistent struggle were taken by the numerous maroons who escaped European control and became agriculturalists, hunters, gatherers, and warriors in remote mountainous areas. Such rebellious people eventually became integrated, "captured" peasantries chiefly because of the interconnected processes of state formation and capitalist expansion. Thus, to use Sidney Mintz's (1984) apt terminology, peasants like Montañeros and Sabaneros are "re-constituted" peasants.

The constitution of peasantries, the genesis of nationalism and the configuration of cultural-ethnic identities were concomitant phenomena throughout Dominican history. Speaking metaphorically, the alterity Self-Other in the country was also a marriage of human blood and crop seeds. This is to say that Sabaneros' and Montañeros' predecessors became peasants and citizens through the experiences of tilling the land and encountering the Other in a context of war. Likewise, preserving the *conuco* and cattle herds became signifiers of cultural-ethnic identity for those pioneer dwellers because of the experiences of "acting and suffering together" and constructing a sense of "constancy despite all changes" (Diltney 1991:449-51) inherent to the violent process of territorialization in the republic as a whole and the Cibao and the Deep South in particular. The unique meaning of the *conuco* for present-day Montañeros and

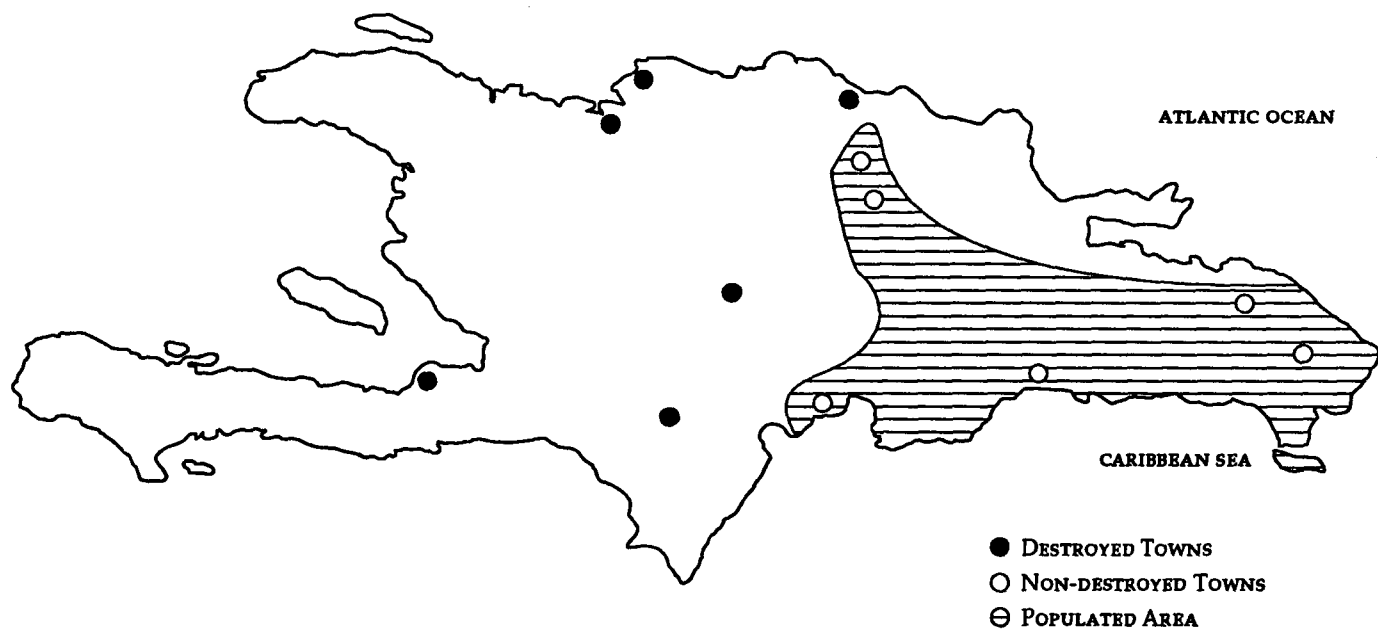


Figure 2. The *Devastaciones*, 1605-1606. Source: Adapted from Juan Bosch (1988:67)

Sabaneros is embedded in a legacy of resistance and integration, and claims and beliefs as well. Outlining its genealogy in time and space is our next task.

A turning point in the genealogy of ethnic identity and nationalism in the Cibao and the Deep South occurred in the 1605-06 period, when the Spanish troops destroyed all farms, burned all buildings, and forcefully relocated the residents of several commercial centers in Hispaniola. The *Devastaciones*, as that dramatic event is known, transformed most of the Cibao and the totality of the Deep South into a no man's land. The way in which farming and ranching were used to repopulate this vast territory conditioned two closely interwoven phenomena: the genesis of two distinctive peasantries in the Banda del Norte (northern side) and Banda del Sur (southern side); and the idiosyncratic formation of nationalism, regionalism, and cultural-ethnic identity in the two regions.

In contrast to the Cibao, where the *cincuentenas* or groups of fifty men on horseback, armed with lances (Bosch 1988:27) resisted the increasing presence of French buccaneers after The *Devastaciones*, most dwellers of the Deep South at the time seem to have negotiated with and even profited from the presence of the Other (Deive 1985:83-97). An indication of this is that Spanish troops carried out the defense of the southern region, particularly Isla Beata – a buccaneer stronghold (Sánchez Valverde 1947: 19-20).

In the constitution of Sabaneros' and Montañeros' cultural-ethnic identity, regionalism, and nationalism, the encounter with Haiti was a major signifier, especially during the 1822-44 Haitian occupation. The context of that signification, however, was not created by economic factors alone. Race and religion played a key role in that process.

During the Haitian occupation, the area currently belonging to Blue Mountain and Green Savannah was a battlefield (symbolic and otherwise), where the figure of the free, lawless *montero* became the symbol to be emulated if one was determined to survive. The other symbol was the stoic rancher, riding on horseback across the solitary terrain. Although certainly important as a physical space where food was grown, the southern *conuco* was not a vital component of the *montero*'s ethos. Hence its limited role in the construction of cultural-ethnic identity in the area of study.

This was not the case of the Cibao. Despite the presence of the *cibaeño montero*, here the regional ethos was primarily constructed by the praxis of thousands of small land cultivators (tobacco growers in particular) who resisted being "captured" by the state apparatus set in place by the Haitian rulers in 1822.

Between 1844 (the year marking the end of the Haitian occupation and the birth of independent Dominican Republic) and the mid-1950s (when Sabaneros began migrating to the Deep South), the country experienced at least twenty-three successful revolutions (Antonini 1968:87), a war aimed at ending the annexation to Spain, the birth and development of capitalism, a limited war of liberation against the U.S. troops (1916), the consolidation of the state apparatus, and the unfolding of Trujillo's dictatorship (backed by the first U.S. military intervention), among other major processes. For present purposes I will highlight the occurrence of three interrelated processes that directly contributed to the genesis and development of two ethnically-linked ideologies in the Cibao and the Deep South.

The first was the configuration of a strong regionalism which accelerated *cibaños'* and *sureños'* conflicting loyalty to national symbols as well as their awareness of racial and cultural differences between the north and the south (Hoetink 1982).

The second crucial process during the more than hundred years between independence and the mid-1950s was the increasing diversification of the republic's cultural-ethnic map, chiefly because of the steady arrival of immigrants from Europe (i.e., the Canary Islands, Hungary), Japan, China, the Middle East (the so-called *Turcos* or Turkish), the West Indies (the so-called *Cocolos*), and Haiti (Augelli 1962; Hoetink 1970; Del Castillo 1979). Very few of such immigrants were sent to the Deep South, except for some Hungarians who moved out of the region shortly after their arrival in the late-1940s.

The third, and last, major development during the period under discussion was the extraordinary role played by anti-Haitian sentiments in the processes of territorialization, consolidation of the state apparatus, and capitalist expansion led by Trujillo. Indeed, the extraordinary measures taken by the national state to first draw the frontier line on the map and second "Dominicanize" it by killing thousands of Haitians and establishing agricultural colonies along the border must be seen as a major turning point in Montañeros' and Sabaneros' perception of themselves and the Other.

Trujillo's rejection of Haiti's cultural symbols (i.e., language, skin color, architecture, religion, agricultural practices), in addition to reinforcing Dominicans' conflicting attitude toward their African past, contributed to the genesis and reproduction of a racially-based national ideology. Because of the aforementioned regional differences in the country, coupled with the pattern of uneven development still present, such an ideology was transformed into ethnically-linked regional ideologies. The way people saw

themselves in relation to the ideal signifiers legitimized by "the center" played a crucial role in the configuration of such ideologies.<sup>8</sup>

The agricultural colonization on the frontier was rooted in the aforementioned ideological grounds. The ideal signifier of Trujillo's colonizing policy was an industrious, Catholic (and Calvinist-like), non-African (hence non-black) peasant such as the typical "white" Sabanero. The official claim that blackness was synonymous with inferiority became tangible to *sureños* and *cibaeños* in 1957, when the government chose "white" peasants from the Cibao, La Línea, and La Sierra as the settlers of the new agricultural colony in Green Savannah. In contrast, when Trujillo visited the area in 1956, he told Montañeros that neither their *conucos* nor their rustic houses were "civilized" enough. "I want you to get rid of those houses and civilize your agriculture," Montañeros were told by the dictator.

Thus, while the building of the colony just a few miles from Blue Mountain sanctioned Sabaneros' cultural symbols, it was perceived by Montañeros as a condemnation of their own. Rather than the "good" peasants Trujillo expected them to be, most Montañeros perceived themselves as "good" hunters, gatherers, and ranchers. Mediated by the interrelation of structuration, utopia, and ideology, the cultural differences between Montañeros and Sabaneros conditioned their action and access to resources as well. It was in such a context that the ethnicity of both groups was socially constructed.

In summary, when Sabaneros began migrating to the Deep South, they were more than a group of poor peasants desperately looking for land to build a *conuco* and survive; they were also members of a community which, while becoming structured because of state intervention (a *comunitas*, à la Victor Turner), were already integrated by the ideology of being *cibaeño*, non-black, Catholic, and "good" peasants. The life-nexus Sabaneros developed through their experience with poverty and oppression in their place of origin, coupled with their sense of mission and access to power, helped them to cope with the despair accompanying their diaspora.

Literally, in that situation Sabaneros had two sorts of mission: the first, prescribed by the state, consisted in their threefold role as builders of a new agricultural frontier, promoters of rather innovative agricultural practices, and exponents of values and symbols (i.e., religion, loyalty to the state, skin color, architecture, agriculture) considered better than the ones prevalent in the Deep South at the time. The second mission, chosen by Sabaneros themselves, aimed at constructing a dwelling by means of using in ideological terms their long-lived culture, their newly-acquired ethnicity,



and, of course, by manipulating the enabling side of public structures and institutions as well. In addition to influencing one another, both missions found in the protection of the *conuco* a point of convergence that minimized fragmentation of both Sabaneros' self and Green Savannah's social structure.

Montañeros, by contrast, did not have a prescribed official mission other than to emulate the Other's industriousness and give up their culture, hence becoming *cibaëño*-like. They, nevertheless, had a mission chosen by themselves as members of a community of *sureños*. One side of that intentional mission consisted in protecting what Montañeros valued the most at the time: their cattle herds and the abundant common lands in which farming, hunting, and gathering were regularly practiced. The second side was epitomized by their determination to resist being "captured" as peasants by the official structures and institutions. In other words, most Montañeros wanted to preserve the feeling of freedom they associated with their life style as ranchers, *monteros*, wood cutters, and gatherers. Montañeros' previous experience as wage laborers in the bauxite mine did not undermine their appreciation for personal freedom. One might argue in fact that such experience actually reinforced their resistance to being captured.

The *conuco* in the late 1950s, despite its significance for growing food, was not a converging point of Montañeros' prescribed and chosen missions. In pursuing the latter while coping with the former, Montañeros were integrated by an ideology of remoteness from (and resistance to) "the center," the national capital and its symbols of progress.

Montañeros' position vis-à-vis the larger society suffered a major shift with the impetuous arrival of Hurricane Inés in 1966. The event marked a new chapter in the relationship between civil society and the state in Blue Mountain. Indeed, even though many Montañeros resented that the government had relocated them against their will, they were proud of the new houses and public facilities of their new village built by the government. New social projects and expectations were constructed in that context. Further, the circumstance that Blue Mountain was the seat of the county provided Montañeros with some public jobs. The small local bureaucracy took advantage of the new structuration, hence gaining access to a limited amount of power. Curiously, during the period 1958-78, such power was primarily utilized to improve the cattle herds rather than the *conuco*.

Montañeros' and Sabaneros' ideologies, being deeply grounded in their idiosyncratic experiences as peasants, *cibaëños*, *sureños*, "whites," "blacks," and so forth, predisposed them to have unique expectations of the state in general and the central government in particular. In other

words, their two contrasting ideologies made tangible the rather abstract notion of entitlement to the fruits of national progress.

When sorghum cultivation arrived in 1979, Montañeros and Sabaneros faced a paradoxical problematic. First, because of the power structure in which recognition by the state takes place, its impact could be either favorable or unfavorable to the local interests, depending on the system of authority at the local level and the uneven terms of exchange between the villages and the larger society. Second, without recognition from the center, dwellers of the two villages were restricted in their attempts to realize their social projects. Hence, the Other in that situation could represent either a better life or sharper impoverishment. Consequently the official claim that the new cash crop was good forced Montañeros and Sabaneros to "suspend belief," look deep into their lived experience, ponder their projects, and make choices.

It was while walking through the threshold of their new existential situation that Montañeros and Sabaneros looked simultaneously at their *conucos* and cattle herds, and asked themselves: Who am I? What is my mission in life? While facing such an ambiguous situation, the past, present, and future became closely interwoven in Blue Mountain and Green Savannah. Rather than being an abstract phenomenon, the heritage of their predecessors in the Cibao and the Deep South remained very much alive. Now was time for a conversation to take place among *monteros* and peasants, *cibaeños* and *sureños*, "good peasants," and "good ranchers," included and excluded citizens, perceived or real blacks and whites, and Catholics and practitioners of *brujería*, as well. In other words, it was again time for testing Montañeros and Sabaneros' ethnically-linked ideologies.

Yet ideologies are neither static, simple, nor purely rational. Instead, they are changeable, fluid, and multidimensional. And they are defined by the interplay between reason and affect. Moreover, acting out ideologies is inseparable from pondering the intended and unintended consequences of one's action. In other words, testing ideologies is synonymous with taking risks using one's lived experience and expectations.

Put to test, the Sabaneros had a "stock of knowledge" (Schutz 1982: 21) whose constitution in time and space, as discussed above, involved their relationships with the market economy and the state apparatus as peasants. It does not follow, however, that Sabaneros foresaw all the consequences of sorghum cultivation and therefore decided to reject it. Yet they knew some of such consequences, including the great danger involved in abandoning their long-lived *conucos*. After all, they were the ones who had experienced loss of land in their northern place of origin

(i.e., the Cibao and conterminous areas). And they also had their ethos of Self-Respect, which prescribed that keeping the *conuco* is synonymous with taking care of one's self and one's family alike. Consequently, although tempted by the opportunity to make a large profit through the new cash crop, most Sabaneros rejected modernization at first. At the time such an ideology was typical of most peasants from the republic's northern regions.

Like Sabaneros, Montañeros were also forced to test their ethnically-linked ideology. But the stock of knowledge in Blue Mountain was different from the one in Green Savannah. Indeed, while most Sabaneros were peasants and had *conucos*, neither their ethos as *sureños* nor their previous experience with the larger society as ranchers/peasants had predisposed them to contest the new, hegemonic discourse used by the public agencies to promote sorghum cultivation. And there was also the Montañeros' quest for recognition, which led them to believe at first that the new cash crop was a favor from the government. In a way agricultural modernization provided Montañeros with an opportunity to become full citizens of the nation-state. They wanted to progress, almost at any cost. Further, their ethos of Endurance predisposed them to take extraordinary risks. A clear indication of this is that some of them even sold a few of their precious cows to grow sorghum. It was using such rational and affective constructs that most Montañeros decided to embrace change at the expense of tradition. Such an engagement with modernization was not typical of most Dominican peasants at the time.

Needless to say, the original response to sorghum cultivation in both villages changed over time. Indeed, since 1979 the Sabaneros and Montañeros' ideologies have been tested in myriad ways. Sometimes they have failed the test and experienced defeat as a result, and sometimes they have passed the test and enjoyed its fruits. But that is another story. The point to be stressed here is not whether Sabaneros and Montañeros will survive in the long run. What calls for our attention instead is that so far they have survived as persistent, authentic dwellers of a changing social space by using their creativity and courage in ways that challenge the claim that peasants lack "true" consciousness.

#### CONCLUSION

In this narrative I have interpreted the lived experience of two groups of people who met in the Dominican Deep South and faced death and modernization together. I have attempted to demonstrate that their ethnically-linked ideologies as natives of two distant geographic regions conditioned

the idiosyncratic way they engaged both phenomena. Tracing their historical roots, I have argued that myriad experiences framed by the interrelation of structuration, utopia power, ideology, and culture influenced Montañeros' and Sabaneros' social projects. I have further argued that the way the two groups preserved or abandoned their *conucos* was part of their quest for ontological security rather than just an attempt to maximize in formal economic terms.

## NOTES

My fieldwork, conducted during the 1988-90 period, was funded by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I was directly involved as an agronomist in the early stages (1978-80) of the modernization project discussed here. Most names used in this narrative are fictitious. This article was originally prepared for the conference "Ethnicity, Ideology, and Colonial Legacy in the Caribbean," organized by John Hawkins in December 1992 at Brigham Young University. I acknowledge the invaluable editorial help provided by Richard and Sally Price.

1. Broadly speaking, Dominicans use the term *indio* instead of *mulato*. In addition to *indio*, the other two main racial categories are *negro* (black) and *blanco* (white). The term *trigueño* is currently replacing *indio*, perhaps reflecting "political correctness" in a country whose Taino population (i.e., Indians) was wiped out as a consequence of the European conquest. The construction of these racial categories is chiefly based on skin color, hair style, and facial features (nose and lips in particular). Black Dominicans are primarily of four sorts: the *cocolos* or descendents of the immigrant English-speaking Caribbean workers (West Indians); the descendents of free African-Americans brought by Boyer, the Haitian ruler, in the early years of the 1822-44 Haitian occupation of eastern Hispaniola; Haitians and their Dominican-born descendents; and Dominicans of dark complexion whose roots are more directly related to the long-lived hybridation of Tainos, African slaves, Europeans, and other populations.

2. Although most *cibaeños* and *sureños* speak only Spanish, there are important linguistic differences between the two groups. For instance, *cibaeños* tend to change the "r" and "l" to "i" (e.g., *mar*, Spanish for sea, becomes *mai*); *sureños*, by contrast, tend to either change the "r" to "l" (e.g. *mal* instead of *mar*) or elongate the "r" (e.g. *marr*, instead of *mar*). Many words, proverbs, sayings, and so forth, are unique to each region.

3. For heuristic purposes, I am deliberately overlooking Sabaneros' and Montañeros' experience as wage laborers.

4. The presence in the Blue Mountain of these *cibaeños* is unrelated to the establishment of the agricultural colony in Green Savannah.

5. I hasten to say that this is but a sketch of Montañeros' and Sabaneros' intricate phenomenological world. I limit myself here to interpreting the existential forms from each village most relevant to our story.

6. These existential categories are interpreted as ideal types, in Weber's terms. Although my documentation of these ontological phenomena included men and women of different age groups, as presented here they are restricted to men who, during my fieldwork, were aged forty years or older. I constructed these existential forms using a variety of methods ranging from structured interviews and questionnaires to casual conversations in quotidian life. I paid special attention to everyday discourse as well as special events, such as funerals and accidents. Further, I carefully documented what people did and said while farming, hunting, ranching, dancing, and so forth. Before leaving the two villages I discussed my interpretation of these phenomena with local friends. Although I am writing this in present tense, I acknowledge that my interpretation is spatially and temporally specific.

7. Locally, a *tumba* means a piece of land whose forest has been recently felled and burned. Normally a year later, the stumps that remain in the soil are set on fire and uprooted. It is usually after such operations are completed that peasants begin calling the land *conuco* or *parcela*.

8. I am using the concept "ideal signifiers" in Saussurean terms as well as in agreement with Balibar's theory that the national ideology inherent to the constitution of society (state formation included) "involves ideal signifiers" that mark the relationships between members of a community and those from "other type of community" (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991:95). Even though the Dominicans' Other is a changing notion that started with the pirates, buccaneers, and merchants of the sixteenth century, Haiti epitomizes the "other type of community" in the Dominican collective consciousness. This phenomenon, of course, has spatio-temporal specificities.

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AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COMMUNITY IN EXILE:  
THE *FLORIDANOS* IN CUBA<sup>1</sup>

SPANISH FLORIDA

Florida was first “discovered” by Juan Ponce de León in 1513, and thereafter a series of Spanish expeditions tried and failed to establish themselves in the province. When French Huguenots established a small settlement near present-day Jacksonville in 1562, Spain was once again spurred into action. This time the Captain General of the combined Spanish fleets in the Caribbean, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, embarked on the “enterprise” of Florida, ruthlessly eliminated the French “usurpers,” and finally made Florida a permanent outpost of the Spanish empire in 1565 (Lyon 1976). Over the course of the next two centuries the Spaniards battled Indian and pirate attacks, natural disasters, internal dissension, disease, and foreign invasions to maintain its struggling colony.

Florida had long held a strategic importance for Spain which outweighed what, from a European perspective, were its rather poor material and human resources. Florida’s peninsular conformation provided Spain with ports on both the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and proximity to key ports in Cuba, Hispaniola, and New Spain. Its very geography, however, also made Florida attractive and vulnerable to competing powers with Caribbean interests.<sup>2</sup> Despite repeated challenges to its sovereignty, Spain managed to maintain its tenuous hold on Florida from 1565 to 1763.

During that first Spanish occupation of Florida St. Augustine became a military *presidio* whose contemporary significance is marked by its impressive stone fortress, the Castillo de San Marcos. St. Augustine was also headquarters of a major missionary effort among the southeastern Indians. By the seventeenth century long chains of Franciscan missions stretched up the Atlantic coast and westward to the rich lands of the Apalachee



near present-day Tallahassee (Hann 1988; McEwan 1993; Bushnell 1994). Although Spain claimed possession of a vast territorial expanse – the entire Atlantic coast west to the mines of Mexico – in fact, its hegemony was limited. European competitors saw no effective occupation of rich lands north of peninsular Florida and soon filled the vacuum. In 1670 planters from Barbados established a settlement at Charles Town, within striking distance of the Spanish capital. The geopolitics of the region were changed forever and the southeastern frontier was, thereafter, embroiled in almost constant warfare. Many native groups were displaced or fled the violence, while others made the best alliances they could, switching sides when necessary (Crane 1981; Landers 1993; Bushnell 1994).

African slaves found in the turmoil an opportunity to escape the chattel slavery of the English plantations. Some formed maroon communities in deep swamps, others lived among the Indians, and still others fled south to St. Augustine. Based on their claims to be seeking religious conversion into the “True Faith” the Spaniards received and freed them, a policy which was officially approved by the Spanish Crown in 1693. By 1738 there were almost a hundred freed and converted “English” runaways living in St. Augustine whom Governor Manuel de Montiano decided also to establish in their own village. The Africans were considered “new converts” and their town, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, was modeled after the Indian villages near St. Augustine. Like those villages, it lay on the periphery of Spanish settlement and was expected to defend and help sustain the Spaniards (Landers 1990).

Thus, first-Spanish-period St. Augustine developed a multi-ethnic and multi-racial character. Its population in the eighteenth century hovered around 3000 citizens including Europeans (primarily Spanish), Indians (primarily Yamasee, Timucuan, and Apalachee), free and enslaved Africans from a wide assortment of nations (primarily Carabalí, Congo, and Mandinga), mestizos of Spanish-Amerindian parentage, mulattoes of European-African parentage, and *zambos*, of African-Amerindian parentage. Still an important military garrison, St. Augustine also became a moderately important Atlantic port where ships unloaded goods from the English colonies to the north and from their Caribbean settlements, and out of which ships took large shipments of hides, timber and naval stores, and oranges. In the hinterlands the Spaniards developed flourishing cattle estates, worked by Indians, African and mestizos, while Indians and Africans worked their own fields in the outlying villages (Landers 1991). But Anglo/Spanish territorial conflicts, and the competition for Indian trade and allegiance constantly threatened Spanish Florida's modest progress. St. Augustine's polyglot citizens withstood major English assaults in 1704, 1728, and

1740, but they could not defend themselves against the territorial imperatives of their own metropolis (TePakse 1964).

In the course of the Anglo-French Seven Years' War (1756-63), Great Britain captured Cuba, Spain's heavily fortified and prized hub of trans-Atlantic commerce. A year later, in 1763, the Treaty of Paris concluded the war, and Spain did not hesitate to keep Cuba and give up Florida, despite the consequences for its forsaken colonists. In an evacuation staggered over the course of ten months, more than 3,000 individuals packed their personal belongings and emptied the Spanish colony. "In blind obedience" to their king, Europeans, Africans, and Amerindians from Florida sailed off to uncertain futures. While smaller groups from outlying posts of San Marcos de Apalache and San Miguel de Pensacola sailed for Vera Cruz and Campeche in New Spain, most of the Spanish residents from the capital of Saint Augustine were destined for Havana, Cuba (Gold 1969).

The links between Florida and Cuba are older than written history. Archaeologist Lourdes Domínguez has discovered pre-historic Florida pottery in excavations of Guanabacoa, Cuba, as evidence of pre-Columbian contact and trade.<sup>3</sup> Once Spaniards conquered and settled Cuba in 1511, the Indian populations of the island were decimated by the devastating effects of war, disease, increased work requirements, and dislocation. Some of the desperate Indians sought refuge to the north, among the Florida tribes with whom they already had contact. Bishop Diego Sarmiento complained during his pastoral visit to Cuba in 1544, that Cuba was being drained of Indians (Romero Estébanez 1981:99). Thereafter, every expedition that departed from Cuba, attempting to explore and conquer Florida, carried more Cuban Indians northward (Avellaneda 1990). Descendants of some of those emigrés may have been among the Florida Indians still conducting a lively trade with Cuba in fish, turtle shells, amber, cardinals, and other luxury goods in the late seventeenth century (Berthe 1971:76).

After St. Augustine was established in 1565, Spanish colonists also travelled back and forth to Cuba frequently, on matters governmental and personal. Florida and Cuba even shared governors on two occasions – during the service of Hernando de Soto and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Coordinated military defense of the Caribbean linked Cuba and Florida and military personnel cycled between the locations routinely.<sup>4</sup> Trade and provisioning networks also connected Florida and Cuba, and families sometimes maintained branches in both locations (Chatelain 1941; Parker 1992; McEwan 1993). Florida's churchmen reported to their superiors in Cuba and Florida's missionaries and seculars hoped to retire to Cuba once their difficult service in Florida was done (TePaske 1964). Elite families from Florida saw Cuba as the place where important social functions

should be performed and when they could, they had their children married in important Cuban churches to reinforce the family's social status. On April 18, 1717, the daughters of Captain Joseph Eligio de la Puente and Don Juan de Hita y Salazar were both married in the church of Espíritu Santo in Havana.<sup>5</sup>

Florida also served as Havana's backwater – the place it deposited many of its undesirables, such as sentenced military deserters and convicts. When, by the seventeenth century, blacks were 45 percent of Cuba's population, Cuban officials considered sending Havana's "surplus" free black population to St. Augustine, both to reduce their concentrations and to thereby acquire their urban properties (Wright 1916:313; Macias Domínguez 1978:34). Thus, humans had traveled the Florida/Cuba circuit for hundreds of years before 1763 and continue to do so today.

The evacuation of 1763, however, was not a matter of choice. Floridians had been struggling for decades to hold the colony despite declining levels of metropolitan support, poverty, and attacks by corsairs and English-sponsored Indians. Life was hard for all, but probably hardest for the colony's non-white peoples, most of whom were consigned to the dangerous frontiers. In 1752 Florida's Christian Indians were living clustered nearby the not very effective protection of St. Augustine in five refugee villages: Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato, with a population of twenty-six people; Pocotalaca, with thirty-three; an unnamed village of Costas Indians, with eleven; Palica, with twenty-nine, and Punta with fifty-nine.<sup>6</sup> These Indians were the pitiful remnants of once powerful nations such as the Ybaja, Yamassee, Timucuan, Chuluque, Casipuya, Chicasaw, Apalachee, and Costas. The residents of these five towns had already been much shuffled and combined and households often contained people of different nations and language groups. This process of amalgamation due to population loss had been going on since the arrival of the Spanish and Old World pathogens, but was rapidly accelerated after the English arrived in the Southeast in 1670.<sup>7</sup> Thereafter, the missionized Indians of Florida were under ever-increasing pressure from hostile Indian groups allied to the English and at one point Cuban officials attempted to relocate several hundred Calusa Indians to Cuba, but this plan failed (Hann 1991:370, 391-94, 426).

By 1759 there were so few *naturales* left that Florida officials congregated the five Indian towns into two. By then, few families were intact, and many households were composed of widows and orphans and *agregados*. The Yamassee cacique of Pocotalaca, Juan Sánchez, became the leader of Nuestra Señora de la Leche, which incorporated fifty-nine individuals. Thirty-three of these belonged to the Yamassee nation and the

rest were Timucuans, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Costas. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato was still led as it had been in 1752 by the Yamassee cacique, Bernardo Espiolea, and its population incorporated twelve Yamassee and eighteen other individuals of the Chickasaw, Creek, and Uchise nations.<sup>8</sup>

The Mandinga "cacique," Francisco Menéndez, ruled the nearby free black village of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, as he had since its foundation. Mose's residents formed intricate ties within their original runaway group, intermarrying and serving as witnesses at each other's weddings and as godparents for each other's children, sometimes many times over. They also entered into relationships with Indians, free blacks, and slaves from St. Augustine. Francisco Garzía, an African, and Ana, an Indian of unstated nation, fled together from Carolina in the 1720s and were among the first homesteaders at the black village of Mose.<sup>9</sup> Other interracial couples resided in Indian villages. María Luisa Balthazar, an Indian from the village of Palica, married Juan Chrisostomo, a slave of the Carabalí nation, living in St. Augustine. Juan later gained his freedom and joined the Mose militia. One of the couple's daughters, María Magdalena, married a free mulatto from Venezuela. The other, Josepha Candelaria, married an Indian from the village of Punta and made her home there.<sup>10</sup> The polyglot population of Mose was also augmented by freed slaves from St. Augustine, of various origins. In 1759 Mose had a population of sixty-seven individuals and was larger than either of the consolidated Indian villages.<sup>11</sup>

Indian and African villages followed the same design. They were enclosed forts in which the residents built guard and storehouses, a church and sacristy. Villagers lived outside the forts, scattered among their fields. Spanish officials posted Franciscan priests at the villages of both Africans and Indians to instruct the inhabitants in "good customs" and catechism, but the villagers were governed by leaders of their own selection. The government provided the African village with the same items it furnished to the Indians and the cost of these supplies was deducted from an annual allotment of 6000 pesos budgeted in the St. Augustine treasury for "Indian gifts." Indians and Africans were expected to plant the fields the government assigned them, and they grew maize and a wide variety of fruit and vegetable crops. Faunal analysis indicates that they had much the same diet, relying heavily on estuarine resources and wild foods. In addition to net-caught fish and shellfish, they consumed deer, raccoon, opossum, and turtle to supplement the occasional government gifts of beef and corn.<sup>12</sup>

Africans and Indians performed similar economic functions for the Spanish community, one of the most important of which was military service. The Spanish garrison at St. Augustine was almost always under strength. Theoretically the plaza was to be manned by a complement of 350 men, but a force of less than two hundred was the norm. The ranks of active troops were depleted by illness, desertion, old age, and the Spanish practice of putting widows and orphans and slaves on the payroll in vacant positions. This continual shortage of adequate regular troops in a period of almost constant conflict meant that the Spanish governors had to rely heavily on Indians and Africans to supplement their force. Both groups formed their own village-based militias, which, commanded by their leading men, exercised considerable autonomy on the frontier. These were cavalry units which served in reconnaissance and guerrilla operations; their role in the defense of the Spanish colony has not yet been fully appreciated.

These close connections between Indians and Africans led to interesting cultural adaptations, of which we can occasionally catch glimpses. The Ibaja Indian, Juan Ygnacio de los Reyes, from the village of Pocotalaca, was among the trusted militia guerrillas on whom Governor Manuel de Montiano depended during the siege led by Georgia's General James Oglethorpe in 1740. Once Montiano ordered Juan Ygnacio to go to Havana for a reconnaissance report to the Captain General, but "(Juan Ygnacio) having declared to me that he had made a certain promise or vow, in case of happy issue, to our Lady of Cobre, I was unwilling to put him aboard with violence, and I let him go at his own free will to present himself to Your Excellency."<sup>13</sup> Nuestra Señora de la Caridad del Cobre was, and still is, the black patron saint of Cuba whose miraculous discovery was attributed to two Cuban Indians and an African who were fishing together. La Caridad de Cobre is also the syncretic symbol for Ochun, the Yoruba goddess of pleasure and fertility (Thompson 1984). Juan Ygnacio clearly understood the saint's function (to ensure happy issue) as well as the Spanish respect for religious vows. It is interesting to speculate how much Juan Ygnacio's contact with Africans in Florida and Cuba may have influenced his choice of a patron – and how many other Florida Indians may have also been influenced by this and other Cuban traditions.

The freedmen of Mose had vowed to be "the most cruel enemies of the English," and to shed their "last drop of blood in defense of the Great Crown of Spain and the Holy Faith," and many did so over nearly thirty years of armed service.<sup>14</sup> Over the course of the first Spanish tenure the black militia of Mose had acquired distinction and privileges for themselves. Their military service had earned them freedom, homesteads, titles,

and salaries. They clearly identified their interests with those of Spain and even another dislocation was preferable to welcoming back their former masters. Spain's Indian allies had so long fought the English and their Indian allies that they, too, may have feared the consequences of the English takeover. They knew the English had allowed their Indian allies to extract revenge on previous occasions (TePaske 1964; Landers 1990).

#### FLORIDIANS IN CUBA

While the evacuation must have been difficult for all, the already marginalized Indians and Africans from Florida had fewer resources and less institutional or social support to call upon in time of need. Although the Spanish Crown recognized its responsibility to resettle and temporarily support all citizens' dislocated through the fortunes of war, Havana was not prepared to receive such a large influx of immigrants and the exiled Floridians experienced severe hardships in Cuba. Most of Florida's administrative and military personnel remained on royal payrolls and could at least count on some income, but civilians had to rely on charity until they could get re-established. There were no facilities for housing the incoming homeless, so Floridians had to be quartered among the homes of private Cuban citizens living in Havana and outlying towns. Cuban officials never intended for all the Floridians to be permanently housed in and around Havana. That burden would have certainly been unwelcome and might have produced social tensions. As soon as they could they hoped to disperse the newcomers.

Floridians were scattered by this Cuban diaspora, but the need to base claims to royal assistance in their distinctive origins meant that they maintained at least the fiction of a *floridano* community for many years thereafter. A royal *cedula* of 1731 first established a system of pensions for widows and orphans of men who died serving in Florida. After 1763, the existing system was expanded to cover the exigencies of the new needy, which now included men, people of color, and Indians.<sup>15</sup> The exiled *floridanos* generated numerous petitions to request increased support or government offices and to be reimbursed for properties abandoned in the evacuation. Cuban officials also kept detailed records of the expenses and problems caused by the immigrants. Maps, censuses, notarial, treasury, testamentary, and sacramental records from Spain, Cuba, and Florida also provide evidence on the group.<sup>16</sup>

In the year following the evacuation, several hundred families of Spanish descent and their slaves made new lives in Havana, aided perhaps by existing networks of family and commerce.<sup>17</sup> Fifteen "families" of Florida

Indians also evacuated to Cuba and were sent to the village of Guanabacoa near Havana, an Indian reserve since 1554. The Florida Indians found in Guanabacoa vestiges of familiar institutions, including Indian municipal and church organizations. Like the Florida Indians, those of Guanabacoa also had a tradition of autonomous militias commanded by their own leaders.<sup>18</sup> In Guanabacoa, Florida Indians were at least briefly able to maintain some of their previous institutional and social contacts. Shortly after the exodus to Cuba, María Uriza had her daughter, María Francisca de los Dolores, baptized by Padre Gines Sánchez, the Franciscan friar who had ministered to their village of Nuestra Señora de la Leche outside St. Augustine.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the efforts of Cuban officials or their own parish priests however, most of the native Floridians came to a sad end in Cuba. Eleven of the fifteen heads of Indian households died within the next five years. One is not surprised that the elderly Timucuan, Manuel Riso, died at age ninety-five, but for others, like the Yamassee cacique, Juan Sánchez, who was in his mid-thirties when he sailed away from Florida, death came prematurely.<sup>20</sup> Many elderly Indian women from Florida also succumbed. Ana María, an Ibaja woman formerly of the village of Nuestra Señora de Tolomato, was buried at about age seventy in the church cemetery of Guanabacoa and the eighty-year-old Indian woman, Juana Rondon, followed her to the grave six days later.<sup>21</sup> The poverty of the Florida Indians is reflected in the burial records. Most died intestate and were given alms burials, although the elderly cacica of Tolomato, María Francisca, was buried in a two-peso ceremony after receiving full sacraments.<sup>22</sup> Survivors were absorbed into the population of Guanabacoa, leaving few traces of their Florida heritage.

Forty-six free *pardo* (mulatto) and *moreno* (black) families were also evacuated from Florida in 1763. For some of the free mulattos, the trip to Cuba was a homecoming. During the last years of Spanish rule, members of the free disciplined militia of Havana had been posted in Florida to try to check the depredations of English-allied Indians like the Uchise and Lower Creek. Indian raids made it almost impossible for Spanish citizens to raise crops and animals outside the walls of St. Augustine and the citizenry suffered many privations.<sup>23</sup> In an attempt to better protect the populace, the *pardo* unit from Havana, led by Captain Manuel de Soto, was constructing a new stockaded fortification on the San Sebastian River when Spain ceded the province. On this project and frontier patrols Havana's disciplined militia worked closely with Spain's Indian militia, captained by Antonio Matichaiche, grandson of María Francisca, the cacica of Tolomato, and with the free black militia captained by the Mandinga, Francisco Menéndez (Landers 1993).

Despite the ongoing frontier hardships, it is doubtful that any of the families leaving Florida welcomed the forced relocation to Cuba. Nevertheless, by the time of the evacuation, most of the people of Mose were fully acculturated into Spanish society and would have found Havana not drastically different from St. Augustine. Havana was already the domicile of a large population of free blacks and mulattos who dominated many skilled craft occupations such as shoemaker, tailor, carpenter, mason, and goldsmith. Free blacks in Cuba organized themselves through religious and social brotherhoods or *cofradías*, which were organized by nations, often with elected kings and courts (Thompson 1984; Gaspar 1985; Thornton 1991). Members of black *cofradías* were active and noted participants in the civic and religious life of Havana and its suburbs. A seventeenth-century account from Havana describes Africans celebrating and enjoying carnival with "picturesque pomp." Other Cuban accounts of the Day of Kings (which fell on January 6, Epiphany) celebrations say those festivities included African song and dance and elaborate costuming – all of which were still part of feast day celebrations in Havana well into the twentieth century.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, by mid-point in the eighteenth century, more than one fourth of the military force of Cuba was black or mulatto (Klein 1966; Kuethé 1986). Free *pardos* and *morenos* from Florida with military and navigational training and skills in carpentry, masonry, and ironsmithing, would have probably been able to find useful employment in the city. They may have also found support networks in the African *cofradías* or through the Catholic Church.<sup>25</sup>

Free blacks from Florida whose wives and children were enslaved probably remained in Havana to be near their families. Others who were married or linked to Indian women or families may have chosen to go with them to Guanabacoa, since at least one free black from the Mose militia, Manuel Rivera, died there.<sup>26</sup> However, it appears that free men of color whose wives and children were also free, were sent to live with their families in Regla, a village southeast of Havana. Thirteen families, including those of Captain Francisco Menéndez and Lieutenant Antonio Eligio de la Puente, of the Mose militia, and Captain Manuel de Soto, and Adjutant Juan Fermin de Quixas, of the disciplined *pardo* militia from Havana, were placed at Regla.

Cuban authorities may have sought to prevent their assimilation in Havana, since they were destined elsewhere, but not all Florida's black families followed the government's resettlement plans. Ana María de León, daughter of the Mose militiaman, Pedro de León, was married in the Regla church seven years after her evacuation from St. Augustine, and her son was baptized in the same church the following year.<sup>27</sup>



In 1764 a wealthy landowner reputed to have Florida ancestry donated 108 *caballerías* of land located southeast of Havana and about twenty-four leagues from the provincial capital of San Carlos de Matanzas as homesteads for the displaced Floridians. Following medieval precedents the Floridians were to become *nuevos pobladores* and make of a vacant land, a just and ordered community. Eighty-four Florida families eventually relocated to a new settlement which they called San Agustín de la Nueva Florida.<sup>28</sup>

The new San Agustín was a multi-ethnic and multi-racial community, formed of the homeless Floridians from many different backgrounds. The dominant population at the new community, however, consisted of forty-three families (197 individuals) from the Canary Islands. Spain had often recruited the hard-working farmers from these islands as homesteaders on American frontiers. A large contingent arrived in Florida for that purpose in 1757 as Spain still struggled to fill the frontier with loyal vassals and postpone the English takeover.<sup>29</sup> Before the cession took place the Islanders had cleared their landgrants, built homes, and planted fields of corn and vegetables. They were beginning to feel at home in Florida and see some return for their efforts when they had to leave. They were probably a fairly cohesive group, united by their origins, language, shared hardships, and relative newness in Florida. The rest of the new settlement at San Agustín was composed of thirteen Spanish families, four families of German Catholics, and the four free *pardo* families and nine families of free blacks who had been living at Regla.

Cuba's governor and captain-general made the lieutenant of the royal treasury in Matanzas responsible for the supervision of the relocation project. Each head of household was to receive one *caballería* of uncultivated land, which they were forbidden to sell to non-Floridians, or even to another of their group without official consent. The Floridians also received a stipend of sixty pesos, foodstuffs (meat, flour, rice, and cassava), and tools (machetes, axes, hoes). Each head of household was also given a newly imported African slave, or *bozal*, to assist in the hard work of building the new frontier settlement.<sup>30</sup>

These minimal provisions and the total lack of infrastructure at the site made conditions extremely difficult for the new homesteaders. They struggled to clear the land, plant fields, and build new structures in an untamed wilderness, all the while pleading for additional assistance from Havana. After two years of effort the settlement was in pitiful condition. Although the area was thickly wooded, the Floridians lacked sufficient tools to harvest the timber and had built "sad shacks" of *yagua*, the impermeable and pliable bark which joins a palm frond to the trunk of the palm. They

could not afford oxen and had to cultivate their lands with hoes, but nevertheless managed to grow some maize, yuca, beans, *boniatos* (sweet potatoes), and squashes. Another serious defect in the settlement was the lack of water. The homesteaders complained that they could not drill wells in the hard land and the closest water source was the river which was one half to three fourth league distant. Disease also plagued the settlement. An epidemic of measles killed four of the African slaves and eight free persons died of unstated illnesses. These deaths increased the work load on the weakened survivors and desperation led to violence at the struggling community. The slave of one of the Canary Islander's killed his owner. The man's pregnant wife died of fright, and because the homesteads were spread far apart from one another, and isolated, their orphaned child then starved to death. Another slave killed the wife of his owner.<sup>31</sup> The fate of the slaves who murdered their owners is unknown, but because there is no mention of trials or punishment, they may have escaped to one of the *cimarrón* communities which dotted Matanzas (La Rosa Corzo 1988).

Despite the many problems, some Cubans actually attempted to move to the *floridano* community. The free black, María de Jesus de Justiz, asked the cabildo of Matanzas for a donation at San Agustín, since she had no other land. She volunteered to cultivate it and take possession under the terms outlined, and based her request on her marriage to the free black from Florida, Joseph Bentura, of the Mose militia.<sup>32</sup> Captain Manuel de Soto, of the free *pardo* militia, also seemed to have thought the place suitable to his needs. He worked his land at San Agustín, and after the death of his Florida-born wife, he married a Canary Island woman with whom he had a daughter. Several years later, Captain de Soto had his Carabalí slave baptized in the Matanzas cathedral, evidence that de Soto at least seemed to have prospered.<sup>33</sup>

On the whole, however, the Floridians believed that they were due better for their sacrifices and they considered life at San Agustín unbearable. By 1766, only sixteen of the original families remained on their assigned lands, and they stayed, allegedly, because they were too poor to move away. The poverty-trapped included Lieutenant Antonio Eligio de la Puente, of the Mose militia, his wife, and five children. Eligio de la Puente resorted to selling pieces of his allotted land to help support his family.<sup>34</sup> Seven other families remained in the general area of San Agustín but rented better lands on which to sustain their families. Among those who were farming elsewhere were the Congo militiaman from Mose, Thomas Chrisostomo, his wife and three children. Chrisostomo died a widower in 1798 and was buried in the new San Agustín. His wife Francisca, a freed

slave from Carolina and daughter of one of the founding families of Mose, preceded him in death.<sup>35</sup>

The rest of Florida's black and mulatto community eventually quit the frontier. Five families moved into the provincial capital of Matanzas, to find work. Included in this group were seventeen persons from Mose: the Carolina runaways, Antonio Gallardo, his wife and two children, Domingo de Jesus, his wife and seven children, Joseph Ricardo and his wife, and Juan Fernández and his wife. Jaoachim de Orozco, formerly of the Havana *pardo* militia, also moved his Florida-born wife and four children to Matanzas. Forty-five other settler families moved back to Havana, assisted by private charity. Among these were two *pardo* families and three families from Mose, including that of the Mandinga captain, Francisco Menéndez. Before leaving, some had managed to pay back part of the start-up money loaned them by the Crown and returned their slaves to the royal accountants, but other debts remained on the Matanzas books years after their departures.<sup>36</sup>

The departing families sold their San Agustín de la Nueva Florida properties to the Canary Island families, who thereby enlarged their own holdings at rock-bottom prices, and consolidated their control on the community. It is interesting to note that modern residents of Ceiba Mocha, as it is popularly called, have no knowledge of its multi-racial history. They believe the town was settled exclusively by Canary Islanders and are proud of the distinction. The church at Ceiba Mocha contains images of St. Augustine, and of the patron saint of the Canary Islands, la Candelaria.<sup>37</sup>

Old networks may have served to cushion some of the hardships of yet another dispersal, but the least skilled, the elderly, and the ill probably suffered. Many poignant petitions went to the King reminding him of the loyal military service of the Floridians, and of the royal *cedula* of 1763 which promised aid to the obedient evacuees. The 1731 *limosna* of two reales daily was minimal, but white women and orphans of Floridian servicemen were guaranteed at least that support for the rest of their lives, unless they married. Many of these women continued to receive pensions well into the nineteenth century. Because many men from Florida had absolutely no other means of support, their wives and daughters were also made eligible for assistance. In effect, the whole family was assisted. Several of the free *pardo* and *moreno* men were also retained on the dole granted them for relocating to the new San Agustín. But at least one black woman was repeatedly denied any support. In 1763 the thirty-one-year-old María Gertrudis Rozo, the widow of the Mose militiaman Ignacio Rozo, applied for the *floridana* pension for herself and her orphaned

daughter. She stated that the family left a hard-earned house, lands, and furniture in Florida, only being allowed to bring out their clothing and bedding, and were in need of assistance. Tellingly, she asked for only one real daily, or half what the white *floridanas* received. Despite proofs of a legitimate marriage and Rozo's government service, her requests for a pension were repeatedly rejected by Cuban authorities. Nevertheless, María Gertrudis Rozo persisted with her suit for twenty-nine years, by which time she was old and ill, and asking for all the years of back *limosnas* due as well. The case was finally referred to Spain for royal review, but Spanish law placed heavy emphasis on precedent and *negras y pardas* had never been awarded such assistance, so the unfortunate widow and her daughter were ultimately denied the *floridana* pension.<sup>38</sup>

In 1784 the fortunes of war once again altered Florida history and Spain reclaimed the province from the British. Officials in Cuba prepared to send a new administration to the northern colony. At the same time, royal officials recognized the opportunity to recruit colonists and reduce their social welfare problems. Given their straitened circumstances, some of the *floridanos* may have been eager to return to family homesteads. To speed Florida's development a royal order of 1789 required Cuba authorities to "take all measures to see that the families of Florida return to their country."<sup>39</sup> Incentives included new pensions for those who would emigrate. These were approved on an individual basis until several royal *cedulas* formalized the process in 1791. Thereafter, if pensioners got one real in Cuba, they would get one and a half in Florida. There would also be a new penalty of a half real for those who refused to go back, unless they were too old or sick, in which case they would be subsidized as before. Cuban-born children of Floridano parents were also encouraged to go to Florida by the promise of a daily subsidy of two reales for unmarried women and one real for a married woman. *Floridanos* who had enjoyed governmental support in Florida but had not received assistance in Cuba, would get what they previously received. Finally, the government promised returnees would get back possessions and lands they formerly held, if possible, or if not, properties of comparable value. For those who had no homes to go to, Cuban officials modeled a plan like the one that failed at San Agustín de la Nueva Florida. Each new homesteader would receive land to cultivate, a Negro slave, and tools for which advances they would be liable in ten years.<sup>40</sup>

Many *floridano* families chose to return to their former homeplace, but reclaiming lost properties proved a tangled affair. Catalina de Porras was able to reclaim the St. Augustine house her mother received as a dowry many years earlier. Ursula and Antonia de Avero also did. However, many

others, like the widow of Estévan de Peña, were unsuccessful. After much litigation, authorities ruled that the 1763 sale of her homestead to British agents had been valid (Parker 1992). There is no evidence any of the Florida Indians ever returned to their ancestral homes, nor that any of the free blacks of Mose did.

After less than forty years Florida changed hands once more. The territorial ambitions of the United States and Spain's weakened position led to a new cession of Florida via the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819. Cuban authorities were required by royal order to receive all those who did not want to remain in Florida under the new territorial government of the United States. Once again, Cuba received evacuating Floridians, including many free *pardo* and *moreno* militiamen and their families who clearly understood the incoming government's position on slavery and race. Unlike the evacuation of 1763, this flotilla carried away no more Florida Indians.<sup>41</sup> As before, Cuban administrators supported the immigrants with subsidies and new homesteads, although this time there was no attempt made to create a separate community for them.<sup>42</sup> The sad lessons learned from San Agustín de la Nueva Florida were certainly considered in that decision.

#### NOTES

1. Initial research on the fate of Florida's African community in Cuba was funded by the Research and Education Center for Architectural Preservation, College of Architecture, University of Florida with the assistance of the National Center for Conservation, Restoration, and Museology in Havana, an organ of the Cuban Ministry of Culture. Further research in Cuba was funded by the Latin American Microfilming Project. Research in Spain was funded by the Spain/Florida Alliance, the Florida Legislature, and the Program for Cultural Cooperation Between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States' Universities.

2. Chatelain 1941; TePaske 1964; Lyon 1976; Hoffman 1980.

3. Interview with Lourdes Domínguez, Guanabacoa, August 1991.

4. Chatelain 1941; TePaske 1964; Lyon 1976; Hoffman 1980.

5. Church Archives of Espíritu Santo, Havana, Marriages of Spaniards 1674-1724, fo. 144, no. 1157 and fo. 155, no. 1159, Marriage of Don Andrés de Padura y Recarte and Doña Maria Teresa Eligio de la Puente and Marriage of Don Pablo Rubio and Doña Catharina de Yta Salazar, April 18, 1717.

6. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Seville, Sección Santo Domingo (SD) 2604, Gelabert copies of the Franciscan censuses, 1752.

7. For detailed historical studies of the effects of European geopolitics on native Indians of Florida see Hann 1988, 1991, and 1996. In Florida, historical studies are being conducted in conjunction with major archaeological investigations of Indian

sites such as that of San Luis de Talimali, near present-day Tallahassee, see McEwan 1993.

8. AGI, SD 2584, Report of the Bishop of Cuba, October 9, 1759. Only seventy-nine individuals were listed in the censuses of the towns of Nuestra Señora de la Leche and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato in 1759.

9. P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History (PKY), University of Florida, Gainesville, SD 844, fols. 593-94, on microfilm reel 15, Memorial of the fugitives, 1724.

10. PKY, Cathedral Parish Records (CPR), Diocese of St. Augustine Catholic Center, Jacksonville, FL, on microfilm reel 284C, Black marriages.

11. AGI, SD 2604, Franciscan censuses, February 10-12, 1759.

12. AGI, SD 845, fol. 701, on microfilm reel 16, PKY, Manuel de Montiano to the King, February 16, 1739; and AGI, SD 2658, Manuel de Montiano to the King, September 16, 1740. Descriptions of the Black and Indian villages can be found in AGI, SD 516, on microfilm reel 28K, PKY, Father Juan de Solana to Don Pedro Agustín Morel de Santa Cruz, April 22, 1759. Also see Deagan & Landers, forthcoming.

13. "Letters of Montiano, Siege of St. Augustine," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah, 1909), pp. 20-43; Topping 1978:xv-xvi.

14. PKY, SD 844, on microfilm reel 15, PKY, Fugitive Negroes of the English Plantations to the King, June 10, 1738.

15. AGI, SD 1598, Certification of Don Tomas de la Barra Sotomayor, July 14, 1765. Two *floridanos* received four reales, 153 received two reales, 67 received one and a half reales, and 34 received only one real a day. Forty-six Indians of both sexes each received one half real daily.

16. AGI, SD 2595, Evacuation report of Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente, September 22, 1766; Gold 1965; AGI, SD 2577, Instancias of Lucia Escalona and Doña María de los Angeles Florencia to continue stipends, Instancia of Don Francisco Salgado on the recovery of houses and possessions, Instancia of María Gertrudis Roza to be granted a stipend.

17. Leading Florida families, like that of Francisco Xavier Sánchez, had familial ties with Cuba, which were strengthened through commercial links. Sánchez carried on regular trade in beef, forest products, and slaves with factors in Havana (Landers 1991). For additional background on Havana merchant networks see Kuethe 1991, Salvucci 1984, and Lewis 1984.

18. TePaske 1964:193-225. Florida Cacique Bernardo Lachiche commanded a unit of twenty-eight men, by election of the other caciques. AGI, SD 2604, Report of Don Lucas de Palacio on Spanish, Indian, and Free Black Militias in St. Augustine, April 30, 1759; National Archives (NA), Havana, Realengos 67, no. 3, Report of Joseph Rodriguez, April 22, 1764. In 1659 the Guanabacoa militia was commanded by the Indian Captain, Francisco de Robles (Romero Estébanez 1981:71-105).

19. Church Archives of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Guanabacoa, Cuba, Pardo Baptisms, fol. 14v, no. 91, Baptism of María Francisca de los Dolores, October 16, 1763.

20. Cacique Juan Sánchez lived at Pocotalaca in 1752 but was relocated to Nuestra

Señora de la Leche by 1759. Manuel Riso lived at Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato in 1752 but in Nuestra Señora de la Leche in 1759. AGI, SD 2604, Copy of the Censuses of the towns of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato, Pocotalaca, Costas, Palica, and Punta, 1752; SD 2604, Copy of the Census of Nuestra Señora de la Leche, 1759; SD 2595, "Yndios de las Familias que Componian dichos Pueblos"; AN, Protocolo de Cabildo, 1754-64, fol. 90-94, Guanabacoa, Resumen de los Yndios Procedentes de la Florida,

21. Church Archives of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Guanabacoa, Pardo Burials, Libro 2, fol. 16, no. 136, Burial of Ana María, February 11, 1764 and fol. 16, no. 137, Burial of Juana Rondon, February 17, 1764.

22. Church Archives of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Guanabacoa, Pardo Burials, no. 180, Burial of María Francisca, October 27, 1765.

23. PKY, SD 516, on microfilm reel 28K, Report of Bishop Juan Joseph de Solana, April 22, 1759.

24. Pike (1972:188-89) describes the Spanish origins of black *cofradías*; see also Ortíz (1920). Those who study the British Caribbean observe similar patterns, see Thornton (1990) and Mullin (1992). Thompson (1984:261-66) notes the similarities between nineteenth-century Abakuá costumes drawn by Victor Patricio Landaluze in Havana and contemporary West African costuming. Exhibits in the municipal museum of Regla document a rich *cofradía* tradition, only suppressed after 1959.

25. The freedmen of Mose were skilled carpenters, masons, and ironsmiths and had been employed on building fortifications and repairing the Castillo de San Marcos and Saint Augustine's church. They also built all their own structures at Mose. PKY, SD 845, on microfilm reel 16, Manuel de Montiano to the King, February 16, 1739; AGI, SD 2658, Petition of Francisco Menéndez, January 31, 1740; Landers 1990:15-20, 31. All were baptized Catholics, a condition of their sanctuary, PKY, CPR, microfilm reel 284F, Black Baptisms and microfilm reel 284C, Black Marriages.

26. Manuel Rivera was born in Saint Augustine, probably of slave parents, but in 1763 he was free and serving in the Mose militia. AGI, SD 2595, Evacuation report of Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente, January 22, 1764. His accidental death on January 4, 1766, is recorded in the Church Archives of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Guanabacoa, Pardo Burials.

27. Yglesia Auxiliar del Santísimo Christo de Potosí, de la jurisdicción de San Miguel del Padron, Regla, Cuba, Marriages of Indians, Pardos and Morenos, Libro 1, fol. 7v, no. 22, Marriage of Bernardo Joseph and Ana María de Leon, April 24, 1770; Baptisms of Indians, Libro I, fol. 23, no. 131, Baptism of Ysidro Silverio, June 22, 1771.

28. The new settlement also continued to be known by its former name, Ceiba Mocha. AGI, SD 2595, Instructions to Don Simon Rodriguez on the establishment of the Florida families in Matanzas, 1764.

29. AN, Floridas, Legajo 21, no. 60, Regarding the arrival of Canary Island families, August 21, 1757.

30. AGI, SD 1882, año de 1764, no. 5 and no. 7, Cuentas de Real Hacienda de Matanzas, 1761-82. The slaves were assessed at 150 pesos each, which combined with the stipend of 60 pesos left each settler responsible for a debt of 210 pesos, to be

repaid in nine years, although no payment was required the first year. The relationship between former slaves and their own slaves is unclear.

31. AGI, SD 2595, Report of Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente, September 22, 1766.
32. Municipal Archive, Matanzas, Cuba, *Actas de Cabildo de Matanzas*, Tomo 5, fol. 145, Petition of María de Jesus de Justiz. Justiz specified that she wanted a piece of land in the area called la Sabana, "behind the one given to Domingo Gonzalez."
33. Cathedral Archives, Matanzas, *Black Marriages*, April 8, 1764, Marriage of Captain Manuel de Soto and María Agustina Gonzales, "blanca, natural de Tacorente de las Yslas Canarias"; *Black Baptisms*, Baptism of María Josepha Catarina, legitimate daughter of Manuel de Soto and María Agustina Gonzalez, November 25, 1768; *Black Baptisms*, Baptism of the adult Carabalí slave of Captain de Soto, named Juan de la Luz, April 2, 1788.
34. AGI, SD 1882, año 1782, no. 10, *Rentas de Real Hacienda de Matanzas 1764-82*.
35. Parish Archives Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, San Agustín de la Nueva Florida de Ceiba Mocha, Cuba, *Black Burials*, 1797-1823, Burial of Thomas Chrisostomo, February 23, 1798.
36. AGI, SD 2595, Report of Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente, September 22, 1764, and SD 1882, años 1762-82, *Rentas de la Real Hacienda de Matanzas*.
37. Interviews in Ceiba Mocha, August, 1991. Official versions of the town's history also identify it as a Canary Island settlement and do not mention its multi-racial origins, see Carmona Martín (1987:200).
38. AGI, SD 2577, *Instancia of María Gertrudis Rozo*, September 24, 1792. The family's baptism and marriage records are in the St. Augustine Parish registers and Ignacio Rozo appears on the militia lists for Mose and on the list of men evacuating from Mose.
39. *Royal Cedula*, 1789.
40. AGI, SD 2577, *Royal Cedula*, March 18, 1791. AN, *Florida*s, legajo 9, no. 22; *Florida*s, legajo 14, no. 54, *Royal Cedula*, June 27, 1793; *Florida*s, legajo 10, no. 7, *Petitions on the cessions of lands in the Florida*s 1781-1813.
41. AGI, Cuba 357, *Relation of the Florida Exiles*, August 22, 1821. Breakaway Creek groups from Georgia and Alabama had filled the rich northern savannas left vacant after Florida's 1763 evacuation; they came to be known as Seminoles.
42. AN, *Florida*s, legajo 14, no. 133, *Royal Order*, December 8, 1820.



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POLITICS AND THE REDEEMER: STATE AND RELIGION AS  
WAYS OF BEING IN JAMAICA

While the relationship between political and religious excitement is obviously intimate, the nature of the relationship remains obscure.  
(E.P. Thompson 1963:389)

INTRODUCTION

A pervasive idiom of class relations and an enduring sense of color and "race" are legacies that Jamaicans sustain from their extensive colonial past. They have also forged in the course of this past a remarkable religiosity. This religious orientation is now expressed in a variety of Christian forms, but Christian forms in which there are embedded a range of Jamaican cultural concerns. In recent years I have pursued research on Pentecostals in Jamaica, following an earlier interest in class cultures and ideologies in the Kingston urban environment. Some of the movement's ritual aspects, and their political import, I have already discussed elsewhere (Austin/Austin Broos 1981, 1987a, 1991). In this paper, I consider a legacy that involves the relation between the experience of religion and the experience of race and class (cf., Mintz 1960). Pentecostalism in Jamaica displaces and reconstrues aspects of the discourse of race and class. Far from being a new phenomenon, these forms of displacement and reconstrual were there in earlier Baptist practice. Reflection on the Pentecostals and Orthodox Baptists, Jamaica's largest twentieth-century denominations, reveals a consistent structural and ideological role for churches that sustain "the Savior" as a European derived construction.<sup>1</sup> In this

latter characteristic, these churches differ from Rastafarianism, which has contested this construction in various ways. Yet together, these religious groups, with their different orientations, shape central aspects of Jamaican culture.

The Jamaicans with whom I have discussed these matters have varied significantly in their orientations.<sup>2</sup> Most from whom I gathered material on class maintained a distinctly secular outlook. Few of the men were church attenders, and among the women, it was mainly those who were lower middle class who sustained a regular church affiliation. Even then, issues of spiritual and moral order rather seldom, if at all, entered our discussions. If I had recruited Pentecostals as regular interviewees in those early years, my picture of Jamaica, or at least of Kingston, might have been rather different. In fact, it is interesting to speculate on why I did not, in that first round of interactions and interviews with householders, manage to engage Pentecostals.<sup>3</sup> The latter I encountered more sporadically, mainly through church associations, and not through the process of knocking door to door. In my analysis of class ideology I found competing explanations of Jamaica's stratification, some in terms of unequal wealth and others in terms of education. I fastened, however, on the term "education," which had dual meanings in Jamaican discourse: one, a sense of achieved social status, and the other, an enduring and heritable condition, mainly concerned with being "uneducated," that attached to a person as a kind of being (Austin 1974, 1983, 1984a).<sup>4</sup> This latter condition of being uneducated involved a subtext in the discourse on class. It also presumed another idiom of kinds of being who were "inside" or "outside" society. Being "outside" specified the domains and forms of practice that comprised an uneducated state (Austin 1974, 1979, 1984a:149-62). One of my conclusions from this analysis was that although racial or color terminology was often not present in these discussions, there was, nevertheless, an enduring sense of kinds of being that was related to Jamaican notions of race and rooted in Jamaica's colonial past (Austin 1974, 1979, 1981:230). I now would add to this analysis that while it was typical of lower-class Jamaicans to "switch" between an idiom of color, and education and wealth, when middle-class informants talked about class they would more often keep the idioms separate (Alexander 1977:430). Though they made this separation, however, middle-class informants, like their lower-class counterparts, drew on cultural paradigms of class, paradigms of living and kinds of being, which they deduced from a racialized past.<sup>5</sup>

Much of my energy in those early analyses was devoted to showing the manner in which forms of enduring historical hegemony led even those who contested this discourse to assume some of its terms of reference. A

working-class man might say, for instance, that the "plain mannerly bad behavior" of other "black" Jamaicans kept him in his place, almost, as it were, through mistaken identity. He was not of that kind, he was skilled in his task, but their actions made him seem inferior. As a consequence, he was paid less for his work, which was classified as "uneducated." The many informants who sustained such views also commonly called on "government" to act in relation to their position by providing better housing, better conditions for work, and better education for their children. Their position was founded on the view that the nationalist movement that brought independence should have established institutions responsive to color and class disadvantage.

It was in this context that Pentecostals presented themselves as anomalous. Their emphasis on knowledge through revelation and their view that holy living meant the laws of God, entailed that in their daily practice they seemed to avoid the discourse of class, either in its critical or hegemonic mode. Education was important for their children and they were certainly "mannerly" in Jamaican terms, and yet they did not deploy these meanings as a principal measure of their human worth. Saints could and did perceive inequalities. They were sensitive to discriminations of color and class. But the hegemonic aspects of the discourse of class were deflected by the assurance of their holy state. Their views of government were often sceptical and rested on a view that the society of man was invariably corrupt, not least within its political component. Nevertheless, they also desisted from a critical position that would link enduring inequalities to the practice of government or nations. Their focus was generally turned to self-help and local community as it related to their larger church, and to the Second Coming of Christ. The "normal politics" of a Kingston neighborhood was displaced in the discourse of their daily lives. This is not to say they had no opinions, or no interest in Jamaican politics. But the expectations of politics were reduced, and their concern was reserved for particular issues seen to bear on their religious practice.<sup>6</sup> Many of these Pentecostals were women who had moved into modest clerical positions due to structural changes in Jamaica's economy (Gordon 1987, 1989). The unreality of the politics of class and race was possibly part of their experience. Yet other women, not Pentecostals, sharing a similar social mobility were often very vocal on political issues.

This situation would be easily construed if Pentecostals were alone in this respect, and proved to be a minority sect. I have no particular proof that they are not alone, but the forms of theology on which the Pentecostal conviction is based are common to other churches in Jamaica and

would be familiar especially to Baptists, who have also been involved in a revival tradition.<sup>7</sup>

Neither are Pentecostals a minority sect. Two Jamaican census categories concern Pentecostals, the category "Pentecostal" and the category "Church of God." Although not all who comprise the latter category are Pentecostal, the majority are Trinitarian Pentecostals.<sup>8</sup> The category "Pentecostal" contains mainly Unitarian Pentecostals.<sup>9</sup> In a 1982 census population of almost 2.2 million, the two Pentecostal categories totalled around 514,000, more than doubling the next largest category of Orthodox Baptists. Of the two Pentecostal categories, "Church of God" was the larger with a total of over 400,000. In short, Pentecostals now comprise the largest category of religious affiliation in Jamaica, and among them would be a significant minority for whom the world is construed in unitary terms of religious belief. These observations become even more interesting when they are aligned with another set of data. Close to 400,000 Jamaicans proclaim no religious affiliation at all. In addition, the "Not Stated" category accounts for almost 250,000 Jamaicans.<sup>10</sup> Some of these probably have no affiliation, and so it might be reasonable to conclude that something over 400,000 Jamaicans do not regard themselves as religiously inclined. These self-descriptions are not a reliable guide to Jamaicans' cultural construction of the world which, even in the case of non-believers, can have a major redemptive theme concerning slavery, liberation, and the advance of human freedoms. Nevertheless, the census statistics suggest a situation nationwide that is consistent with my neighborhood experience: that in Jamaica there are significantly different construals of the world along religious and non-religious lines that have some implications for politics, and for the way in which people experience race and class (Austin Broos 1991).

The relation of "new religious movements" to the politics of class and nationalism has been a focus for discussion in literature on the African states. At least two major reviews have been written, by James Fernandez (1978) and Terence Ranger (1986). These reviews, and the gamut of literature they address, reflect two broadly different accounts, one from a political economy orientation and the other from the orientation of cultural anthropology. The former position furnishes a certain restraint concerning the possibilities these movements carry for critique and change of their societies. The latter, cultural view is inclined to see the matter, in Fernandez's words, as an "argument of images" involving different construals of the world (Fernandez 1978:221). Some writers, both on Africa and elsewhere, have sought to reconcile these views by interpreting the new religious movements as forms of culturally embodied response to issues of

subordination and modernity (e.g., Comaroff 1985; Ong 1987).<sup>11</sup> Culturally, however, the question is to what degree – and in what way – do adherents of these religious movements identify the nature of their experience with particular social orders or collective practice. If the knowledge of the world that informs their experience is different from a secular view, what has been the practiced component of this knowledge, and what are its implications for politics?

In the following discussion, I make some suggestions in the light of my Jamaican experience. My conclusion will be that Jamaican Pentecostals experience inequality differently both from those who are non-religious, and from the Rastafarian groups. The type of orientation that the Pentecostals sustain has received a particular practical embodiment within a range of popular churches as they have acted to provide their adherents with structures partially autonomous from the state. They leave in their wake a distance from the state, and a quietistic response to politics. This response, moreover, is sustained and encouraged by links with the metropolitan world. The orientation I will describe was established during the colonial period. It has persisted and also been transformed through the medium of Jamaican Pentecostalism. It is indicative of a modernist condition in which structures and ideologies beyond Jamaica bear on that society and culture to offer both opportunity and constraint. The “argument of images,” one might say, becomes a domain in which every image is, in itself, a site of ideological contestation.

Below, I consider the role of Jamaica’s popular churches, particularly Baptist and Pentecostal, in their relations with the state and with a wider transnational world. These relations suggest the practiced embodiment of a life and identity distanced from the state. Then I consider some aspects of the Pentecostal experience: mobility through the church, encountering race and class in the church, and preaching to the state from the Pentecostal pulpit. These forms of experience demonstrate how a transcendental ideology transforms the issues of class and race and even the bracketing power of the state. I conclude with some observations on why the secularism of the modern state has a limited salience for these Jamaicans, who in turn have an impact on political culture by making God and Redemption “really real” as factors in Jamaican life. I briefly contrast their position with the Rastafarians, who contest the state, and race and class, within a rather different cosmological frame.



## BAPTIST POLITICS AND ALTERNATIVE MILIEUX

The role of the Orthodox Baptists in Jamaica after emancipation is fairly well-known and much remarked upon (Wilmot 1980, 1985; Stewart 1983, 1992). Although not the only actors in the field, they were certainly prominent in pursuing the construction of free church villages and proposing a social and moral order that was conceived as alternative to the plantation, although not entirely distanced from it.<sup>12</sup> In the midst of the rental disputes that marked the end of apprenticeship, the missionaries promoted their free village scheme for those with appropriate means and a Christian disposition. In this, Baptist missionaries Knibb, Phillippo, Burchell, and Clark were aided by the financial support, totalling around 24,000 pounds, that had come through parliamentary compensation, and public subscription, following the rebellion of 1831 and the Colonial Church Union's attack on nonconformists (Timpson 1938:30; Turner 1982:148-78). The response of the people to the free village scheme was enthusiastic but also short-lived. Rental disputes diminished by the mid-1840s, and in the interim the economy had declined again, so that Christian freedmen leaving estates found it difficult to purchase land or to contribute to chapel construction (Underhill 1879:5; Holt 1991:139-40). The Baptist missionaries were faced with the need to support themselves in the Jamaican milieu.

Values they sustained on behalf of the freed, as well as the condition of their own organization, turned the Baptists to local politics. Their political practice, nevertheless, also embodied a religious vision. Convinced that industry and proper domesticity were integral to redemption and assurance of grace, it was also important to the Baptists that they extend their free village system further. In this, they were propelled by a sect-like view that required a Christian milieu fully realized on earth (Troeltsch 1949:688). As Phillippo described in his post-emancipation pastoral, living a daily Christian life, as conceived on a European yeoman model, was integral to the conversion process (Phillippo 1843; Hinton 1847:48-67; Austin Broos 1992). The religious aspirations of the missionaries, however, rested on a modicum of rural prosperity, and they saw the realization of prosperity impeded by taxation demands from the Assembly.<sup>13</sup> As a consequence, the Baptists became engaged with policy issues bearing on taxation.

The Baptists were especially concerned with taxes used to finance immigration of indentured labor into Jamaica; labor, they believed, would threaten the livelihood of their Black Baptist supporters. Missionaries also opposed taxation to support the established Church of England in Jamaica. Less than 1 per cent of non-white Jamaicans were, at the time, involved in this church, and yet their taxes which amounted to over £40,000 a year

were the substantial contribution to its support (Campbell 1976:230-1; Wilmot 1985:4). To change the tax regime, however, required significant influence in the Assembly. Black Baptists would need to be able to choose their own candidates, and for this they would need to be registered voters. Baptist missionaries including Knibb, Clark, and Burchell were aware that the free village system, as well as being a religious vision, was also a mode of local organization, a form of economy, and a means of enfranchisement (Wilmot 1980:49).

William Knibb, the Baptists' chief political activist, died on November 15, 1845, and Burchell died six months later in London. Other missionaries and schoolteachers left the island in the later 1840s as conditions grew worse and the ranks of the British Baptists became depleted (Henderson 1931:94). The Sugar Duties Act and the epidemics of the early 1850s radically affected the population (Eisner 1961:134, 136). And though freehold candidates entered the Assembly, Baptist leaders were disappointed with the peoples' choice and feared the rise of demagogues in a climate of acute economic distress (Wilmot 1980:59). British Baptists began to join with others in favoring Crown Colony rule (Wilmot 1980:59; Campbell 1976:314-16, 329). A new Franchise Act was passed in 1859 that limited freeholder voting, and in that year Edward Bean Underhill visited Jamaica to assess the position of the mission (Underhill 1879; Holt 1991:256-68). Underhill's visit was the first in a series of events to link the British Baptists, albeit unwilling, with Gordon, Bogle and the Morant Bay Rebellion. This became a source of embarrassment.<sup>14</sup>

After the Morant Bay Rebellion, the Orthodox Baptists withdrew from political engagement with the state, focused on conversion, and sustained a circumscribed engagement with the people. Yet their history and proportion of black Jamaican pastors gave them a social standing different from the Anglican church, even when it began to expand. The Baptists' major sectarian competitor, the Methodists, were more closely identified with the brown middle class. In addition, the Baptists, like the other missionary churches, carried the burden of elementary education. During the second half of the nineteenth century, a pattern developed within Jamaica for servicing the lower class with teachers. Elementary schools were "denominational" schools funded in part by the state, but administered by the churches themselves (Eisner 1961:332). Local teachers were under the jurisdiction of a manager, who was very often the local pastor, and even in the early twentieth century the curriculum involved extensive religious education (Miller 1986:49). A principal course of social mobility, especially for the sons of the poor, was to move to a teacher training or theological college also managed and largely funded by a church (Miller 1986:27).

The state took over this system in 1892, having already inserted itself into secondary education, and systematically began to change the curriculum of the system. Primary education became more utilitarian, and more oriented to the reproduction of a lower-class, mainly manual, population. Notwithstanding, even in the 1980s, half of the elementary teacher training colleges were still managed by church organizations (Miller 1986:11-12).

As the Baptists disengaged from direct political action, they had, like other missionary churches, turned their gaze to certain social services crucial to the aspirations of the people. The institutional infrastructure that they created was made possible, in part, by the infusion of funds from church sources external to Jamaica. They thus sustained a relation to the state that could also be seen at the local level as reflecting a certain autonomy. They integrated the operation of church and school, and infused education with a Christian ethos which proposed, in Errol Miller's (1986: 29) words, that "a black person through education could rise socially ... to any position." Self-evidently false by the turn of the century, this view was nevertheless ensconced within a religious ideology that saw racialized structures and class discrimination very much in terms of "prejudice," the particular moral failings of individuals, to be circumvented by recourse to a loving God manifest in the social structures sustained by the church. The advent of black teachers and pastors, trained to service their own lower class, gave local plausibility to this view of the world among those committed to the Christian faith. If there were not in fact "two Jamaicas," the "dual system" of education over which the state presided allowed the lower class and the modestly mobile a sense of church-sponsored culture and infrastructure ostensibly distanced from the business of the state, and from overt color-class conflict.

#### PENTECOSTAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE BAPTIST ROLE

By the 1920s, the Baptist Union was sufficiently secure to assume a middle-class ethos itself, as Jamaican pastors gained higher education and began to dominate their own organization. By its very success, the Baptist Union grew more limited as an avenue of mobility for the working and lower class.<sup>15</sup> It was during this period of the 1920s and 1930s that Pentecostal churches, although they remained relatively small at the time, secured themselves in Jamaican society. They came as a series of individual initiatives, mainly from churches on the American eastern seaboard beginning in the 1910s, and expanding in the next two decades.<sup>16</sup> These developments joined indigenous revival movements begun by Raglan Phillips in Clarendon, and Mother J.C. Russell in Brown's Town, St. Anne. In the

early years they recruited their numbers from Baptists and Congregationalists, and from other new revival sects including the British Salvationists.<sup>17</sup> They came to a society in which it was now understood that churches should desist from overt political engagement with the state. As Americans, they were distanced in any case from a colonial politics that bore little relation to their home base. They also entered a society in which the state was now directing elementary education. They were, moreover, organizations entirely disassociated from Jamaica's past.

As a consequence, the Pentecostalist could not reproduce the Baptist role. Rather, they embodied a transformation of the role of an institutionally powerful sect partially funded from a foreign source and disseminating a radical Christian ideology. This ideology concerned the transcendental power of God and the ultimate, millennial transformation of the world. Pentecostalism built on Methodist Armenianism and the Baptists' believer's confession to make the key to personal well-being a ritual redemption even more consuming than its Baptist counterpart. Pentecostalism also offered to Jamaicans a message that decisively integrated spiritual and corporeal redemption. Pentecostalism cured in a radical way by reconstituting the person as a saint who could receive spiritual healing, and the moral power to be a sinless being in everyday life. The offer of a major status reversal to people left behind by the upward mobility of the Baptist church was undoubtedly very appealing. With the state now controlling education, the atypical exclusion of Pentecostal churches from most areas of education had the effect of intensifying their transcendental view of the world. Pentecostalism offered to many Jamaicans the opportunity to engage in ritual healing forms that could radically transform their status into that of a chosen spiritual elite, and all within a missionary church based in a metropolitan world.

The institutional embodiment of a Baptist world had come through theologizing elementary education and creating a close articulation between the organization of churches and social mobility through education (Miller 1986:27, 49). For the Pentecostalists the route was rather different, but not unconnected with the history of the Baptists. At the turn of the century, and in response to state policy, places for men in elementary teacher training colleges were reduced. There was a very significant shift to the training of women teachers with the stated intention of economizing teacher training (Miller 1986:35-61). As a consequence three male teachers' colleges were closed between 1877 and 1890, when the Baptists decided, in addition, to close the teacher training arm of Calabar College (Miller 1986:10-12). Given the special status of the male rural teacher as a local notary and doyen of culture, this was a decisive development cutting

off a route to male mobility largely created by the mission churches. In conjunction with the mobility of the Baptist church, it also undercut the institutional nexus that had sustained mission Christianity as a major milieu of lower-class leadership. This was, in addition, the period of Jamaican labor migrations opened up by the Panama Canal construction, opportunities in Cuba, and the expansion of banana plantations in Costa Rica (Roberts 1957:133-410). Such opportunities, however, were for laboring men and not for black lower-class men with a modest education seeking to better themselves in Jamaica and often financially unable to pursue further secondary education. These men, like the majority of Jamaican women engaged in rural and service occupations, also remained peripheral to Jamaica's nascent union movement.<sup>18</sup> When Pentecostalism began to expand, it was from among these rural and urban Jamaicans, beyond the process of proletarianization, that the movement recruited its leaders and followers. While the followers were women in the majority, the leaders would be mainly men. And the churches offered to these men alternative structural means of mobility.

In the group that would become the New Testament Church of God, at the beginning only the overseer was actually financed from America. In time this would extend to head office staff, and to county and district overseers, though pastors have always been dependent on their churches (Conn 1959:66; Arscott 1971:21). Yet, as the movement built, it was one in which individual evangelists could rapidly develop their own church group. This group accepted tithing as a spiritual duty and thereby sustained a modest income for the pastor. In return, affiliation with America brought assistance with the construction of churches and even personal aid through welfare appeals. Affiliation with one of the American missionary groups was advantageous for evangelists. A Jamaican evangelist with no formal qualifications could in time be accredited as a minister, and thereby avoid both the charges of "obeah" and "sedition" that beset the evangelist Alexander Bedward (Chevannes 1971). From 1917 on, for instance, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World issued a ministerial certificate to ministers and pastors in the field (Golder 1973:46). An early Jamaican Unitarian Pentecostalist, George White, was issued such an accreditation and with it built the foundations of Jamaica's first Apostolic Union, to be realized by his wife, Melvina White.<sup>19</sup> This allowed these mostly male aspirant ministers to circumvent both the power of the state and its intersection with the older mission or denominational churches in their control of ministerial accreditations. The American churches brought to pastors and their followers the symbolic capital of a regional power standing outside the British colonial world. In this process, regional

mobility and printed media from North America were crucial. It was through the mission columns of American publications, and especially through the columns of the *Church of God Evangel*, that Jamaicans advertised their cause, and appealed for support from the American churches.<sup>20</sup> Rudolph Smith, possibly Jamaica's most successful early Trinitarian Pentecostal evangelist, wrote to Tennessee in 1936:

There is a strong determination in me to see Jamaica move up to the front. For years, headquarters has spent hundreds of dollars over here and the work has never taken on a proper stand as other fields ... The total number of organized churches over here is 18 along with four new fields not set in order as yet ...

I have travelled 800 miles since my last writing. I ride a horse in many cases, and I go otherwise by train and bus. The means of riding on a horse is very tiresome and slow going. I haven't a car yet, but if I owned one I could make much more progress. I wonder if any of my American brothers or sisters would dedicate one to this needed call.<sup>21</sup>

The zeal of Jamaicans in "planting" and building churches was aided by an American view very different from the first round of British missionaries. A.J. (Ambrose) Tomlinson, founder of the Church of God and then leader of its breakaway group, the Church of God of Prophecy, made this observation in 1929:

We could have a dozen churches on [Jamaica], I believe, in three or four months with the proper skilled workmen that know the people and the methods to use to gather them into the fold.

I do not advise that any of our people from the states go to these Islands. The natives can do much better than we can and at less expense. They understand their people and the natives understand them. Their need is means to help with their expenses.<sup>22</sup>

The more highly organized and bureaucratized base organization of the Church of God that sponsored the Jamaican New Testament Church was rather more tempered. They maintained a white American overseer in Jamaica until 1974 and a small group of white mission staff. The pastors were, however, overwhelmingly Jamaican.

Both Rudolph Smith and George White came from small farmer backgrounds, in northern Clarendon and St. Elizabeth respectively. They had received good elementary educations and traveled to Kingston in the late 1910s to obtain modest service employment. They were converted in Kingston by two of the earliest Pentecostal evangelists, the American Nina Stapleton and the fair-skinned Jamaican Mother Russell, and then returned to proselytize the country. Each one built substantial organizations, and in

conjunction with Henry Hudson, who was converted early by Rudolph Smith and evangelized for the New Testament Church, founded a movement that had spread through the parishes by the 1940s.

The outcome of this process is seen today in some major Jamaican Pentecostal churches that articulate closely with an international network. It is common in the largest New Testament Church of God for promising ministers who have received initial training from their own theological college to complete a master's degree at Cleveland, Tennessee. Through this process, a reservoir of historical and self-interpretation, of local experience and black theology, has been stored in the metropolitan center. The Church of God of Prophecy has major connections both in Cleveland and in England, where migrant Jamaicans from the 1950s built a large church organization (Calley 1965). Its current overseer in Jamaica was previously overseer for the British church. He is a son of one of Smith's early converts who also evangelized in Clarendon. This church also has connections in Cleveland, sustained as much by personal networks as they are by institutional affiliations. Other church leaders in Jamaica travel regularly to America to lecture churches and conferences on the method of missionary practice. Roswith Gerloff, a British resident of Jamaican descent, has become a major theologian of Black Pentecostalism in Britain (Gerloff 1992). Her book, subtitled "The Black Church Movement in Britain in its Transatlantic Cultural and Theological Interaction," speaks to the transnationalism of this milieu. And this tenor of Jamaican Pentecostalism eddies into local churches. The three largest Jamaican churches have extensions or affiliates both in England and North America.<sup>23</sup> It is likely that if a church member travels to a major urban site for Jamaicans in either of these metropolitan milieux, there will be a local church of their affiliation or else one closely related to it. This network is registered in Jamaica by the common presence in Sunday congregations of Jamaicans, mostly women, returned home to visit, who bring greetings from their overseas congregations. "Greetings" is an established section in the services of many congregations. The Jamaican congregations and their overseas counterparts thereby embody an institutional network that supplements kin connections as many Jamaicans, and especially women, move between societies. Church sisters and brothers within Jamaica aid each other in finding employment and, especially in densely populated Kingston, form tightly knit networks of mutual aid. It is likely that in some degree these networks are replicated overseas.

In the twentieth century, the institutional articulation of Pentecostal churches realizes elements of potential in the mission organizations that came to Jamaica in the years prior to emancipation. They are vehicles for a

transnational mobility that operates for Jamaicans at a number of levels. They are thereby exemplars of a twentieth-century modernity foreshadowed in the totality of Jamaican history that began with forms of forced migration and continued with the mediation of the population by transnational mission organizations. These new mission churches of the twentieth century broke a certain nexus between church and state that was manifest in the British mission churches. They no longer had a sense of the "civilizing mission" over and above evangelism. They did not especially identify with Jamaican politics and arrived at a time when the state had largely taken over education. Yet they offered modes of organization and a construction of the world that was real to those many Jamaicans, and especially to Jamaican women, who were distant from a proletarian world and its negotiations between unions, parties, and the state. Both the mainly male pastors and the women saints thereby have a sense of real benefit from structures sustained by the churches and largely independent of government. And integral to this experience has been the reproduction of established local meanings. The Pentecostal movement in Jamaica constituted churches as communities of the saved in which the basis for collective experience was a spiritual and moral transformation given meaning by reference to a transcendental God. Whilst their followers experienced the structural disadvantage of racial hierarchy and class division, they nevertheless came together as an empowered collectivity under the rubric of "a church" (cf., Bourdieu 1991:229-51). They understood themselves to be, at the outset, among Jamaica's poorer citizens who were black and thereby discriminated against. Yet, they ultimately came to construe this experience in terms of a "chosen" people "humble in spirit." Jamaican Pentecostals then and now see the divisions of race and class, but facing these divisions their collective empowering comes through the ethos of the church, which focuses on moral reconstruction of the person and the spiritual resolution of the Second Coming.

Max Weber (1968:486-500) can be invoked to characterize the Pentecostals as people disposed to a salvation religion. However, not all Christian cultures that are modern states sustain this form of salvation religion or do so with Jamaica's enthusiasm. Here three additional factors are important: the uneven capacity of the state to act as a structuring power in social life; the expanding structures of foreign churches partially funded from abroad; and the corresponding forms of collectivity in which Jamaicans have been involved. The Baptists secured a certain role for religion and for the church in Jamaica when they, along with other mission churches, became largely responsible for education. This they achieved at least in part because, notwithstanding the colonial state's power to co-



ordinate economic and social initiatives, that power was less often used to foster the welfare of the lower classes (Stone 1991:93). When this state became independent, it simply did not have the resources to offer services to its people on the scale of some Western democracies. Though always retaining significant power, the modern state has thus continued as an uneven presence in Jamaican life.

The Pentecostal movement expanded in the period of transition from colonial to postcolonial society. The type of institutional role played by the Baptists was in fact taken over by the state. Nevertheless, Pentecostalism offered forms of association beyond the state, and practical structures within Jamaica that remained important to its followers. It thereby brings a collective alternative to other collectivist renderings of life such as those that might be found in a union or a political party. Where the latter collectivities construct a reality for their followers based on the power of man and his legal institutions to control or re-arrange the goods of society, the collectivities of Pentecostalism address the dilemmas of the person by proposing a moral reconstitution guided and informed by God's spiritual power (cf., Weber 1968:484-86; Sombart 1906:77-79). These operations on the person become manifest in a collective discipline that sometimes aids mobility both within and beyond Jamaica. All these factors come together to create a "plausibility structure" in which the appeal to God, and especially to Jesus as Redeemer and Savior, is an eminently real resort in life. An account of some saintly mobilities in the church, and of a discourse from the pulpit on the state, gives a sense of this world as it is experienced by the Pentecostalist. In this experience, issues of race and class are engaged but interpreted according to a transcendental logic. The state, or "government," is represented as peripheral to the problems that beset the saints.

#### PENTECOSTAL REDEMPTION AND THE FAILURE OF THE STATE: THREE CASES

##### *Alvin Downes*

The career of a pastor I shall call "Alvin Downes" should not be taken as a typical career of a minister in Jamaica's New Testament Church of God. The church is Jamaica's largest Pentecostal body with 337 churches and 65,000 saved and sanctified members. This latter figure bears only a limited relation either to the phenomenon of religious affiliation for census purposes, or to weekly church attendance. The figure does not mark weekly attenders, but only those who have been transformed into saints. Regular

attenders at New Testament churches could be more than double this figure. The church has assets in Jamaica equivalent to around US\$16 million. It sustains 62 basic or pre-school centers and two old-age homes for Pentecostals. The church maintains a pension plan for ministers, and also funeral assistance and life insurance programs. In 1991 it had 53 retired ministers on pensions.<sup>24</sup>

Within the church are a number of influential Pentecostal families most of whom are second-generation Pentecostals. Some of these families have close links with the United States. A past island overseer, for instance, left his permanent residence in Florida to return to be the Jamaican bishop. Others among this particular group have tertiary qualifications from the United States, sometimes from Cleveland, Tennessee, but also from universities in Indiana and Florida. There is a stratification within the organization that is still fairly fluid in its personnel but is nevertheless evident at islandwide conventions, and at islandwide ministers' meetings. Depending on the families from which ministers are recruited, and their backgrounds in rural or urban milieus, their course and prospects in the church can vary. Alvin Downes would stand, not at the base of this Pentecostal hierarchy, but rather in its middle reaches. The nature of his career in this institutional context demonstrates the significance of this Pentecostal milieu for young men like Downes from a poor rural background, who aspire to mobility through the church.

When I knew him, Pastor Downes lived in upper Clarendon, where he was district overseer for five churches. He lived with his wife, a fellow evangelist, who also was trained as a primary school teacher. Pastor and Sister Downes had two young children and two other relatives residing with them. One was a young boy who was the son of a cousin of Sister Downes, the other the Pastor's younger half brother who had been involved in gang activity in Kingston and had been jailed for a number of months prior to his mother sending him to stay with her elder son. The new arrival had been recently saved, but his commitment was questionable and the pastor watched him with a cautious eye. Both these boys, like Sister Downes and her children, called the pastor "Sir" in the household.

Alvin Downes pastored two churches in his district, preaching at them on alternate Sundays. He also preached in the early afternoon for a missionary outreach group that met in the yard of one of his members. During the week, the pastor visited the other churches in his charge, often walking long distances. He kept fairly close associations with the three young pastors who each led one of these other churches, acting to assist them and guide them in their work. With two of these men he was especially friendly. They sometimes visited during the evening and helped the pastor

work on a small car that had not been in working order for quite a long time. Members of his own and other district churches regularly visited the pastor's house with gifts in kind from their cultivations, including yams, green bananas, avocados, breadfruit, and a small variety of citrus. The meat component of the pastor's meals was negligible, but the household did not want for sustaining food. Once a month he traveled to Kingston to return his district tithes and other takings. At this time he would report to the island overseer or bishop on the spiritual and financial welfare of his district. When he returned from these visits, always in time for the Sunday services, he generally brought small presents for his children. Pastor Downes was in his later thirties, dark-skinned, cheerful, and a forceful preacher who frequently accompanied the church with his guitar. He was popular in his district and particularly solicitous of some of the older women saints, one of whom had donated land for a church. He was known to be able at healing and exorcism and often offered sermons in the popular style called "preaching sin" that focused on the horrors of a fallen life. His aspiration was to become a full-time evangelist for the church. Pastor Downes believed that if he were allowed to work freely in Kingston he could "plant" at least four churches in a year. He found the "book keeping" side of his work onerous, and believed that his real contribution was spiritual. The following is my gloss on his own account of his career.

Pastor Downes began with the observation that his mother was not married to his father. She had had children by other men and he had had children by other women. So the youth in his household was a half brother only. His mother was a small-scale country higgler and his father had been a "mechanic." He had grown up in a village in the parish of St. Mary and there attended All Age school. After his schooling was finished, he stayed on as a "monitor" to help the teacher. There was very little work in that part of the parish.

He was saved when he was seventeen years old and after that event he acquired a job. He worked as an assistant in a dry goods shop; cleaning, lifting, carrying, and serving the customers. He was paid Ja\$7.00 a week in his first year, rising to Ja\$14.00 in his second year. He complained to his employer about his wage but nothing changed. He was offered employment in another shop, and when he started they paid him Ja\$40.00 a week. The money was better, but he had already received a calling to the ministry. He was a deacon in his local church and he used the extra money to buy his guitar. He then asked the pastor if the church would assist him in his desire to attend Bethel Bible College, where he could train as a Pentecostal minister. The pastor, however, said that there were no funds. The church was a very poor community. God led Pastor Downes to "put

pen to paper." He wrote to a great uncle in Portland, whom he had never seen, and told him of his calling to the ministry. The uncle himself was a born-again Christian and agreed to fund Downes through Bible College.

At the College, Downes was "miserable." The food was particularly poor and he missed the meals provided by his mother. He found the first-year classes difficult and then developed a stomach ulcer. He was spitting blood. He was very sick just before his first year comprehensive exams. The exams were dreadful and he did very poorly. He went home to St. Mary, assuming that that would be the end of his ministerial career. He consulted a doctor on his stomach ulcer, but the doctor's medicine did not help. Finally, he prayed to the Father for direction and the pain from the stomach ulcer went away. He did not experience any more bleeding. Soon after, he received a letter from the College saying that in spite of his poor results they were prepared to allow him to return. From that time on, he had little trouble handling the course.

His first ministry was in Clarendon in a church that was very badly run down; less than thirty members and very few tithes. Sometimes his income was only Ja\$14.00 a month. The saints did give him gifts in kind. The church had only half a roof. There were no windows and the floor was dirt. A large tree growing beside the church was cracking the walls with its roots. Gradually he built up that church, though it was a very difficult experience. It was the Lord who really showed him the way.

Downes met his wife on a visit to a pastor friend in St. Thomas and they were married by the younger brother of the bishop of the time. His church could not maintain a married couple, so headquarters moved him to Trelawney to pastor two churches there. Giving him this responsibility was also a way of testing him. His first child was born there and after two years he was moved to Hanover.

In Hanover, he had three churches to pastor. It was during this period that he bought an old Landrover. The roads were very bad over there and he had to move about a lot. He also cultivated a vegetable garden with pumpkins, red peas, and even tomatoes. He was living in a very good yam area and church members offered him plenty of yam. After he had been in Hanover for a time, friends said that he was being considered for a district pastor's job. He did not believe that this was possible, but he said "Let the will of God be done."

He was called to headquarters and offered his present position in Clarendon. He really found it very surprising and blessed the Lord for blessing him. He sold his Landrover and bought a small sedan but the car had been a constant problem. He would prefer to live elsewhere in Jamaica, especially if he could become an evangelist in Kingston. Then perhaps,

he could travel overseas to America, and even to Australia. Everybody he met agreed that Jamaicans were the best evangelists.

Pastor Downes and his wife both came to the church from impoverished backgrounds. Their career together had included hardships. Yet the pastor had high status in his district that was marked even within his household. In his trips to Kingston, he was careful to cultivate members of one of the families that is influential in the church. The social distance between him and them seemed barely to bother him. Pastor Downes saw his own career as occurring entirely within the church, the milieu in which God's will could guide his upward mobility. He sought to learn from his better-placed friends and remarked to me on one occasion that God was the one who had put him "in touch" with people of influence in the church. Pastor Downes could be disappointed in his career or proceed from one success to another. In either case it is very likely that his own account will mark each chapter simply as the will of God frustrated, perhaps, only by the actions of sinful people, whether within or beyond the church.

### *Bishop "Williams"*

A Unitarian Pentecostal Bishop once related to me with considerable feeling the conduct of some white missionaries he had encountered in his years as a pastor. I later noted his observations.

Bishop "Williams" said that he did not see why Americans less-educated and of lesser social standing, and also less-inspired with the Holy Spirit, should come in and be placed over Jamaicans.

These people would come and sit at your table and behave as though they had no manners. They would look at your food and push it aside if it looked a little bit different from theirs. When you go to America and you have to sit down at a table, perhaps the food is not well cooked, not properly cooked, and perhaps the food is a little too oily. You try to eat as much as you can so that you would not offend the person. No way these Americans. They would not think to do it like that. They insisted that the choirs be robed and that everything be done in an American way. The attitude was different in Jamaica, because even if a person came in bare-foot to the church, and received the Holy Spirit, Jamaicans would praise the Lord for him. Jamaicans accepted Pentecostalism because they already lived in a spirit-filled world. They were African themselves. They were emotional. They liked rhythm in their worship, pipe and drum, and they knew what it was to be Spirit filled from the days of the Great Revival [1860-61]. The whole world of Jamaica was busy with spirits, so the message of the Holy Spirit was welcome. Americans didn't need to tell Jamaicans that.

The bishop had begun his Pentecostal career as a boy in Melvina White's Emmanuel Tabernacle in Kingston. He had later joined the United Pentecostal Church (UPC), established in Jamaica in 1947. The parent organization, he believes, rejected him for study in America mainly due to the color of his skin.<sup>25</sup> In 1971 he left the UPC and developed his own ministry in St. Anne, supporting himself as an electrician while he was building his church organization. Ultimately he established a strong Jamaican base and made contact with black Unitarians in the United States who had been associated with the integrated but increasingly black Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. His own Jamaican "fellowship" grew to twenty-six churches, with one further church in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. He became part of an international mission organization sponsored by black Unitarians in the United States. Bishop Williams emphasized that the Pentecostal movement in Jamaica had been built largely by Jamaicans. Missionaries in the UPC who had come to Jamaica after the war had in fact "inherited" churches.

I built churches with pick axe and crow bar. Brethren would come to work and you pick up the tools after they left. I used to cry, I was so alone. I had no facilities. Then I walked nine miles to go to service and nine miles back. But when a person caught the Spirit I always feel such a thrill. Even with the suffering, you just enjoy it.

Bishop William's interpretation of the racial conflict in the Pentecostal church appealed to the superior spirituality of Africans. This, he proposed, was something God had given as a special gift to African culture. His belief that blacks were "spiritual" before whites pertained to his view that only Pentecostals are truly Biblical Christians. New World Africans had been better prepared for the revelations of Pentecostalism than whites, who still sustained racial prejudice. The battle against racism was thus a spiritual battle in which "proper law," as the bishop described it, did not obviate the need for moral and spiritual reconstruction even of people who called themselves "Christian."

The racial cleavage in United States Unitarian Pentecostalism is marked by a separation of organizations. Within the larger Trinitarian churches there is division within the organizations, which are also marked by largely white central administrations (Anderson 1979:191). The missionary contact with Jamaica has been mostly through white personnel.<sup>26</sup> Within the Church of God of Prophecy, an oral tradition tells of Rudolph Smith refusing to travel to the United States at all following visits in the mid-1930s that brought him face to face with segregation. This oral tradition also proposes that when Smith died in 1974, after forty years of leading his

Jamaican church, he died of a stroke because the headquarters church had deprived his colleague, Alvin Moss in the Bahamas, of leadership of the church he had built there. Moss later led the Jamaican church. In 1971, the Reverend Lindsay Arscott wrote advocating "indigenization" for the New Testament Church of God. He argued, like Bishop Williams, that "the actual work of evangelism was done largely by nationals," and also observed that the Book of Acts testified amply that "the indigenous church is a Biblical concept" (Arscott 1971:40). Although the New Testament Church has been self-governing since 1974, there are still organizational conflicts with the Cleveland, Tennessee, church. Some within the Jamaican church would prefer a Caribbean conference, rather than travelling annually to the United States to a conference in which they are merely bystanders to a group that is mainly American. One recent observation within the church has been that the American Church of God, in which a majority of churches are black, is reluctant for Caribbean autonomy lest it create a breakaway in its own organization.

Pentecostals perceive class and race divisions. They experience them as part of their practice both within and beyond the church. Their rendering of this experience, however, is informed by a view that real Christianity and Christian-based community is the only medium to transcend these divisions. When experience of division occurs in the church, its source is seen to be man-made rules that are in fact obstructive of the will of God. This view, which is integral to Jamaican religious culture, was first endorsed by the early missionaries who stood as advocates for the slaves at the time of emancipation. In the free village scheme, they also proposed a pragmatics for realizing alternative community. Notwithstanding the missionaries' own limitations, Jamaica's revival Christianity has sustained this image of a God-governed world beyond the divisions of race and class. Marcus Garvey foreshadowed this community in his preamble to the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) constitution.

One God! One Aim! One Destiny! ... discontent will ever mark the path of men, but with love, faith and charity toward all the reign of peace and plenty will be heralded into the world and the generation of men shall be called blessed. (quoted in Hill 1983-85:256)

This hope for the millenium is expressed in a very different way by the poet Claude McKay (1953:49), returning to religion from a life of political critique. He proposes not the millenium, but a personal redemption from temporal life.

Around me roar and crash the pagan isms To which most of my life was  
consecrate,  
Betrayed by evil men and torn by schisms ...  
to God I go to make my peace, Where black nor white can follow to  
betray.  
My pent-up heart to Him I will release And surely He will show the  
perfect way of life.

These images, so integral to Jamaica's tradition of revival Christianity, are not peculiar to Pentecostalism but inserted by Jamaicans into their Pentecostalism. It is the strength of this utopian critique and of an experienced spirituality that underscores scepticism concerning the power of the state to act constructively in everyday life.

### *A Kingston Pastor*

The entreaty to Pentecostal saints not to place their faith in politics, but rather to align with the church, is a common Pentecostal pulpit theme. In this, Pentecostal pastors make a bid for leadership even beyond the community of saints. In so doing, they offer a particular rendering of Jamaican historical experience. They suggest a progress for the saints that parallels a reading of history familiar to the nationalist cause: that a union and nationalist movement uplifted the black and the poor. This movement, it is often proposed, finally defined as irrelevant and dead the spurious notion of a genetic inheritance that denied citizenship to a people. The pastors' rendering of Pentecostalism proceeds by a similar logic. Sin, like blackness, was an inherited trait of the African in thrall. It is a trait that can finally be dissolved in the born-again experience. Thereafter the human being emerges spiritually whole, or holy, able to lead a saintly life. This reading of a Jamaican progress is especially attractive for male Pentecostal pastors whose class position has often debarred them from the political arena. Their exhortations to the saints assert the pre-eminence of transcendental power over temporal or political power. The following gloss of an exhortation from a prominent Kingston pastor demonstrates just how explicit this call to religion over politics can be.

Politicians have not brought us to our roots. We need somebody who cannot fail and His name is Jesus. We need to discover our mission, discover our roots, discover ourselves. Imagine the transformation of this society if we Jamaicans made all these discoveries. We have been searching for our heritage, but guns have destroyed our search.

There will rise up a people who one day forget about the party they belong to. Tell our politicians that we don' wan' no more guns. We don' wan' more tribal war. We don' wan' more Tivoli and Rema.<sup>27</sup> We need to



stop this rubbish in our country. We cannot live much longer in this way of life. God has blessed our nation. God has given us strong and capable leaders. But while we praise them, it is to us that God has entrusted the task of arousing our people spiritually.

I remember when Busta [Alexander Bustamente] and Norman Manley were campaigning in the hills of St. Mary. They use the same platform. They meet in the same square. Any time our leaders caan' sit down, don' try impress "Brother Bryan" that yu' livin' right. Our nation is wounded and it must be healed. The day of mana falling is over. God gives us the strength and the land and the way mana gwine fall is for us to produce on the land.

We will always undervalue ourselves until through God's Grace we identify our roots. We would go to Africa lookin' where we came, and they in Africa lookin' to trace where they came, until they trace their roots to Adam.

We are all his offspring. The great Creator, the universe declares, we are his offspring. There are certain principles that govern his [Adam's] offspring: I'm a child of God. I have to live like a child of God. I'm born again. I must live free from sin. Holiness must be our watchword, righteousness our password. Repentance must be our aim. That's the only thing that can bring us back to our roots.

This day I ask you again. Who are you connected to? Who are you an offspring of? Have you found your roots?

This textual subversion of a nationalist message is common in Pentecostal churches. It does not reject the themes of politics, but rather places them in a cosmological frame that promotes a reference point beyond the state. Redemption, an image brought by the missionaries and captured by Jamaica's political process, is here re-owned by the Pentecostal church as a truly transcendental experience. Nothing could demonstrate more effectively than Kingston's downtown neighborhood violence the limitations of the Jamaican state in seeking to provide a desirable life for all its people. The Pentecostal pastor fixes on this point, and whilst he does not contest the national founders, he does contest the legitimacy of those who have inherited the founders' mantle. In one deft stroke politics is made subordinate to the spiritual world, and the issues of class and race are subsumed in the overriding condition of man as sinner and responsible for his fate. The Pentecostals become the chosen people who will lead their fellows out of the bondage of secular society, with its failed politicians. The sign that they are indeed the chosen people is their ability to live a holy life, even in the midst of violence and impoverishment.

## CONCLUSION

The Jamaican Pentecostal view of the world is grounded in historical experience (Smith 1976:315, 339). It continues, as it also transforms, the cosmology of a religious group that retains the power to represent itself at least as partly autonomous from the state. This representation of the church began with the free village system, and continues with the Pentecostals today. Through their notion of a heaven on earth, to be completed by the Second Coming, they question temporal social relations infused with issues of race and class. This critique, however, turns devout Pentecostals not to active political engagement but rather to redoubled efforts to ritually re-constitute the self. In this, the transcendental assumption that human society is invariably corrupt, and that only a God-given realm will be just, make their perceptions and practices something different from a secular politics. In all of this, the image of "redemption" is deployed as an argument with Jamaica's political history. Pentecostal preaching denies a redemptive power to politics and re-assigns it to a ritual world. People are enjoined to trust religion rather than the politics of states.

Yet this is a message in Jamaica that also has a political meaning. Jamaicans imbibe modernity, and in that condition live between their local milieux and an array of metropolitan sites strung together through continual migration (Foner 1978; Basch *et al.* 1994). In this condition, many Jamaicans of Pentecostal persuasion have neither the experience of controlling metropolitan organizations nor the structures of their own small state. The transcendentalism of their redemption complements this historical experience which detracts from their lives as "citizens" both in Jamaica and the metropolitan world. Jamaicans who can experience the state as a genuine and salient force in their lives are more likely to embrace a secular politics rendered as a "history of freedom." In organizational terms, Rastafarianism is a more local religion than Pentecostalism, and also more autonomous. Its communities have not been funded from abroad, and its message has been communicated out to the world rather than received as a missionary imprint. In identifying the Christian Savior with Europe, and its inevitable white bias, Rastafarianism creates a distance between itself and the metropolitan world of Pentecostalism. Rastafarians become Jamaica's "renouncers," radically inverting the forms of socioracial hierarchy involved in the transnational order.

I began this discussion with some observations on the different orientations of Jamaicans to issues of politics, race, and class. It is now appropriate to return to this theme, but in a rather more general vein. A number of writers have remarked on the forms of secularization that followed the

development of capitalism and its legal and administrative institutions. These writers have also remarked on the fact that this secularization very often involved the acceptance of man rather than God as the measure of things in social life.<sup>28</sup> Sombart and Weber, in particular, focus on markets in the modern state that give even workers a singular sense that it is man rather than God that controls social life. Weber (1968:485) describes the emerging perception that "power relationships [are] guaranteed by law" rather than by transcendental forms. It is such perceptions, these writers propose, that undermine religion as an integrating truth. In this milieu, people need not be entirely atheistic. Rather, in the words of de Certeau (1988:149), church membership becomes pluralized and "relativized." These memberships in turn become "contingent" and "partial" rather than a unifying truth of life. De Certeau's reading of Weber's Protestant ethic is consistent with this typification. The shift from rite to a focus on ethics introduces the notion of "a theory of behaviors," rather than a statement of cosmological order, as the principal focus for religion. In time, Christianity largely becomes subservient to political forms; now, merely, "a sacred theater of the system that will take its place" (de Certeau 1988: 157).

This brief genealogy of modern denominations is challenged by Pentecostalism which, beginning as a sect in Yinger's sense, can expand to become a large organization that claims the status of a universal church.<sup>29</sup> The latter claim rests on the treatment of religion as an integrative truth, and of Pentecostals as the only church, standing in a muted tension with the state. The various arms of the Protestant Reformation found it impossible, in the age of secular states, to assert themselves as a universal church. Twentieth-century Pentecostalism, as it addresses the less-developed world, presents, however, a different prospect. It presents a return to revelatory truth that makes its morality subordinate to rite. It is chiliastic and conversionist, and concerned with thaumaturgic practice (Wilson 1975:22-25). When a rapidly expanding religion of this type is situated in a society where the structuring power of the state is limited by economic and historical conditions, the reality of that religious milieu, both in organizational and ideological terms, can become a central organizing truth for at least a proportion of its adherents. This has been the case in Jamaica, where the notion of a Savior is extremely real and Redemption is a dominant motif.

## NOTES

This article was originally prepared for the conference "Ethnicity, Ideology, and Colonial Legacy in the Caribbean," organized by John Hawkins in December 1992 at Brigham Young University. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Elizabeth Pigou of the University of the West Indies, Mona, with newspaper research in Jamaica. The research project has been funded through grants from the Australian Research Council, 1986-87, and from the University of Sydney, 1991. The primary sources used for this study include: *Jamaica Baptist Reporter* 1929-31, *Church of God Evangel* 1917-42, *Jamaica Daily Gleaner* 1917-37, and *White Winged Messenger* 1929-36.

1. The British Baptists, who came to Jamaica in 1814 at the behest of the "Black Baptists," Liele and Baker, were the most prominent of the sectarian missionary groups that came to the island. Turner (1982:137) gives an excellent survey both of the relation between the slave trade and the formation of mission societies in England, and of the arrival of various missionary groups in Jamaica. The Baptists in conjunction with Methodists, Congregationalists, and Moravians especially, carried from Europe an opposition to the "established" or state Church of England which was mainly a planters' church during the slavery period. Turner's account underlines that most missionary efforts began in agreements between missionaries and particular planters opposed to the state church. Phillippo (1943:285) gives an overview of mission work on the island directly following the emancipation. Owing to their support of the emancipation movement, the Baptists sustained a popular ethos even as their pastorate became firmly embedded in the middle class during the twentieth century.

2. Austin/Austin Broos 1974, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1984a, 1988; also 1981, 1984b, 1987a, 1991.

3. My initial household survey through which I recruited informants for longer interviews had no question on religion. I therefore do not know if Pentecostals declined further interviews. However, given their prevalence in one of my research sites, the neighborhood I called "Selton Town," it is likely that this could have occurred. It is also not surprising to me now that Pentecostals might have declined to be engaged in university-inspired interviews that might have led to discussions of politics.

4. The structural bases for the continuing ambiguity of "education" in Jamaican ideology is found in Gordon's summation of the changes, and lack of change, in educational opportunity that have occurred in Jamaica in the post-war period. In 1991, Gordon (1991:191, 205) observed, "Slightly over 10 percent of the earliest cohort, which reached high school age between 1936 and 1945, gained entrance to high school. By the most recent cohort this had doubled, to slightly less than 20 percent. Practically all the increase occurred after the introduction of the Common Entrance exams in 1957. But the figures also underline the extremely high barrier at the secondary level, which limits access to high school education for most Jamaicans." And again, "The main beneficiary of the Common Entrance system is the brown middle class."

5. The issue of the relation between "race" and "class" as interpretative symbols for Jamaicans remains a vexed and continually debated issue (Alexander 1977; Smith 1982, 1992; Austin Broos 1988). Alexander asserts that his middle-class informants

"had no difficulty" in distinguishing "class interests" from issues of race, meaning by the latter the "racial [including color shade] description" of a relative (Alexander 1977:430). The issue is, however, that both class and racial idioms can be deployed to talk about kinds of being in Jamaica (Austin Broos 1994).

6. Cf., Hobsbawm 1957, 1959:129-30; Mintz 1960:210-52, 257-70; Thompson 1963:350-400.

7. Orr (1949:190-92, 270-71) and Henderson (1931) give accounts of the engagement of Orthodox Baptists with revivalist tradition in nineteenth-century Britain and in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jamaica, respectively.

8. Possibly one-fifth of those registering as "Church of God" would be affiliates of holiness churches in Jamaica that accept the doctrine of being "born again" without accepting glossolalia as a sign of this transformation.

9. The dominant Trinitarian missionary church in Jamaica became the Church of God of Cleveland, Tennessee. This church was involved in a fission in the United States that involved the creation of two churches in Jamaica, the Church of God of Prophecy and the New Testament Church of God. There are many other smaller Churches of God in Jamaica, and Trinitarians generally identify with this name. Unitarians, who baptize only "in the name of Jesus," often have the term "Pentecostal" or "Apostolic" in their name. They very seldom use the title "Church of God."

10. The category "Not Stated" is different again from the category "Other" in which minority groups, including Zion Revivalists, might locate themselves. "Other" commanded a membership of 125,000.

11. These statistics came from preliminary aggregations of the Department of Statistics, Kingston, from the Jamaica Census, 1982.

12. Mintz 1974:157-79; Holt 1991:144-46, 168-76; Austin Broos 1992; Paget n.d.

13. Both Comaroff (1985) and Ong (1987), interestingly, deploy Foucaultian ideas as an adjunct to Marx. For comment on this theoretical strategy, see Austin Broos 1991. The following interpretation is heavily indebted to Wilmot's two very useful accounts (Wilmot 1980, 1985).

14. Underhill 1867:3-4; Black 1965:174-75; Campbell 1976:333; Stewart 1983:380-94.

15. This bourgeoisification of the Jamaica Baptist Union is evidenced, for instance, in a letter to the editor of the *Jamaica Baptist Reporter*, in the year 1929. A group of young clergy observed that "Many of our methods are antiquated and totally unsuitable to the growing generation. Strong individuals here and there who find themselves in helpful conditions may do much for individual congregations, but the reforms for which we are pleading can best be obtained by the united teaching and assistance of organized men" (*JBR*, vol. 21, no. 241:5). This letter was one of a number preliminary to greater centralization in Kingston of the Baptist Union's administration.

16. A fuller account of this early history, based on newspaper research, documents from the churches, and oral accounts is to be found in my work in progress, "Jamaica Genesis: Religion, Morality and Gender Relations, or, How Jamaicans Became Pentecostal."

17. The expansion of the early Church of God in northern Clarendon was mainly at the expense of Baptists and Congregationalists (personal communication, Percival Graham). This area of Clarendon had previously experienced the revivals of Raglan Phillips, then working with the Baptist church and later to found the Kingston City Mission, Jamaica's first indigenous Pentecostal church. Prior to his association with the Baptists, Raglan Phillips had been a Salvationist (Hobbs 1986:2-3) The Church of God evangelist, Nina Stapleton, reported from Kingston in 1919 that "most of our members came from the Salvation Army ... in the slums and among the poorest and lowest classes" (*Church of God Evangel* 1919, 10, 16:4).
18. Post 1978:114-58; French & Ford Smith n.d.; French 1986; Austin Broos 1991.
19. Personal communication, Morris Golder, historian of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, in Indianapolis, January 23, 1992. See also Golder (1973).
20. Two examples of this type of correspondence are that between Ivan Delevante of Kingston and the *Gospel Trumpet*, organ of the Holiness Church of God that preceded the Pentecostals into the Jamaican field in 1907 (Graham n.d.:8). The second example is J. Wilson Bell's correspondence with the *Church of God Evangel*, 1917, 8, 31:2 (cf., Conn 1959:61).
21. Rudolph Smith in *The White Winged Messenger*, 1936, 13, 11:2.
22. A.J. Tomlinson, cited in Church of God of Prophecy n.d.: 207 in *Cyclopedic Index of Assembly Minutes (1906-49) of the Church of God*, p. 207.
23. The churches referred to here are the New Testament Church of God, the Church of God of Prophecy, both Trinitarian, and the United Pentecostal Church, Unitarian. There are others including the indigenous Kingston City Mission, Rehobath and Emmanuel Tabernacle, as well as the Foursquare Gospel churches that are in a similar position.
24. These details were provided for me in 1991 by the church's island overseer, Reverend F.A. Beason.
25. The Unitarian or "oneness" movement in the United States has been marked by racial fissions. Anderson (1979:187-91) and Golder (1973:139) discuss these.
26. The Church of God in Christ which has become the largest black Trinitarian Pentecostal church in the United States, was actively missionizing in Jamaica during 1926 and 1927 (e.g., the *Daily Gleaner*, June 16, 1926:13). Its main church was in Allman Town, Kingston, and this church and some affiliates still exist in Jamaica today. They are not one of the larger Jamaican organizations however. For an account of the American Church of God in Christ, see Lincoln and Mamiya 1990:76-91.
27. Tivoli and Rema are popular names for two sections of the West Kingston area that have been beset by gang violence. The areas and their gangs have often been associated with support of different political parties so that the gang warfare and its many deaths are often attributed by residents of downtown Kingston to Jamaica's two major political parties, the Jamaica Labor Party and the Peoples' National Party.
28. Sombart 1906:75ff.; Weber 1968:484-86; Dumont 1977:11-44; Austin Broos 1987b; de Certeau 1988.
29. Yinger 1946:19, 555-60; cf., Simpson 1956:339-41; Wilson 1961.

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UNTOLD STORIES OF UNFREE LABOR: ASIANS IN THE  
AMERICAS

*The Cuba Commission Report: A Hidden History of the Chinese in Cuba. The Original English-Language Text of 1876* (Introduction by Denise Helly). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. viii + 160 pp. (Paper US\$ 21.95)

*Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838-1918.* WALTON LOOK LAI. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. xxviii + 370 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

The world system formed by European mercantile and industrial capitalism and the history of transcontinental labor migrations from Africa to the Americas have been amply documented. The genesis, evolution, and demise of New World slavery are subjects much scrutinized and debated, particularly since the 1960s. Enjoying a less extensive tradition of historiography are the variously devised alternative labor schemes that came on the heels of emancipation: the colonially-orchestrated efforts to contract free and voluntary workers to take the place of slaves in a system of production theoretically the moral antithesis of that earlier "peculiar institution." Yet scholarship on indentured labor systems has consistently revealed that the "freedom" of immigrant workers was merely nominal, the "voluntary" nature of their commitments arguable, and the indenture projects often only ideally a kinder, gentler form of labor extraction.

Not confined to a single locality, the indenture of various populations through labor arrangements bound by contracts of varying duration has occurred for centuries. At times it has formed the foundation for initial colonization, as was the case with European indentured laborers entering

North America and the Caribbean in the 1600s and 1700s. Indenture also has been the basis of early post-emancipation labor experiments that employed freed African, African-American, and European immigrant workers, along with their unindentured counterparts, in, for example, the British West Indies. Organized as state project or private enterprise, the indenture of immigrant workers in the nineteenth-century Americas began in fits and starts; it was, in terms of both policy and practice, amended continuously during its approximately eight decades of predominance; and it irrevocably changed the demographic, cultural, and social terrain – as slavery under an earlier imperialism had before it.

Leaving their towns and villages, Indian and Chinese sojourners were key players in the anguished construction of New World cultures and societies. Yet they have traditionally been accorded peripheral attention. This is partly because, unlike European, African, and Native American populations, Asian peoples have tended to be perceived by scholars and other observers as forming a less salient dimension of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Caribbean, Latin American, or North American ethnic mosaic. Indubitably much less significant demographically, Chinese and Indians in these territories in many instances have been treated as sub-cultures, sometimes as exotics, and therefore as somewhat more marginal to what were deemed critical issues in the history of this part of the world.

Another possible reason for the attenuated focus on New World Asian peoples is located in epistemology. Over the decades, scholars from a number of disciplines have developed an intricate discourse on the distinction between “slavery” and “freedom,” on the very nature of “free” and “unfree” – in philosophical, social, and political-economic terms. In fact, while a “free/unfree” dichotomy ultimately tells us much about Western philosophical traditions (always a dimension of abiding interest in our intellectual heritage), indenture – located outside of this dichotomy – cannot. Forms of labor, including indenture, that fall ambiguously in between in complex ways confound this distinction, and may even challenge it (see, for example, Kale 1992). As clearly important as delineating New World slavery and freedom is, too close an adherence to these as reified categories may diminish the perceived relevance of Asian actors in these contexts.

Thanks to increasing consciousness among scholars about historiographical (and ethnographic) authority, silences, and voice, the florescence of social history over the past two decades, the current reconstitution of “diaspora studies,” and the rise of ethnic – especially Asian-American – studies, there is now a growing body of research on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Asian immigrants to the Western Hemisphere which is

concerned with both interpretive and material dimensions of the indenture experience.

Complex and at times circuitous, the journeys consisted of inter-regional migrations (contracted and "free" Chinese, for example, headed for destinations spanning Canada to Peru and California to Trinidad) and intra-regional migrations (as indentured and formerly indentured Indians, for example, left Trinidad for Guyana, Venezuela, or Suriname). Focusing on Chinese indentured laborers in Cuba and on Indian and Chinese indentured laborers in the British West Indies, Denise Helly and Walton Look Lai make important contributions to our understanding of indentured labor as ideology and institution. They consider indenture as part of a larger continuum of labor mobilization in service of a production system whose organization has changed over time yet whose rationale remains familiar today. Helly and Look Lai also enhance our appreciation of the Americas as being built significantly by a flow of transnational migrant labor that long preceded its contemporary heirs. In doing so they bring into focus the full nuances of indentured labor, revealing, among other things, its dismaying incongruence with the notion of "freedom."

Both authors are expressly concerned with filling the gaps in the historical record. Among the most frustrating of these lacunae is the nature of the archival material: the perspectives and experiences of the indentured laborers themselves are conspicuously sparse. Although colonial authorities and established creole populations (both white and black) were rarely inclined to conduct ethnographic research, much less cultural conservation, among these populations, there are still sufficient recorded materials to attempt redress of this silence. Helly and Look Lai do this – each in a distinctive way.

Helly edits and introduces a primary document on the single case of Chinese in Cuba, and Look Lai offers a broadly comparative discussion of Chinese and Indians in the British West Indies based on his reading of primary and other documents. Both volumes highlight the intricately linked relations among a complex network of participants: merchant firms, colonial authorities, indigenous authorities, various administrative agencies, diverse local recruiters, and immigrants – a complex "work force" developed around indenture schemes. The broader vulnerability of the countries of origin vis-à-vis colonial objectives is striking. Domestic turmoil was initiated or exacerbated by colonial machinations, such as the disruption of the zamindar (landlord-tenant) system in India and clan organization in China. Even as a sovereign country, China, like India (a British colony), made increasing concessions to colonial demands in response to pressures, for example, to make its ports accessible and to supplant Euro-

pean importation of foreign goods with foreign importation of European manufactures. As both Helly and Look Lai demonstrate, the weakened ability to resist European economic interests and trade demands in a gradually coalescing global system enhanced the involvement of merchant firms in the business of contract labor. It is not surprising, then, to learn that the first Chinese immigrants in Cuba came via Philippine intermediaries working with two English companies in China (Helly, p. 11), or that in an (ultimately unsuccessful) experiment as early as 1806, the British East India Company brought two hundred Chinese to Trinidad from such dispersed localities as Macao, Penang, and Calcutta (Look Lai, pp. 42-43).

In Helly's book, the story of indenture among Chinese immigrants to Cuba is told through more than 1,000 depositions taken in 1873 from the "coolies" themselves, as evidence was gathered by appointees of the Chinese Imperial government in an investigation of the working and living conditions of Chinese nationals in Cuba. Look Lai's contribution is necessarily more removed from this level of experience, although he, like Helly, is concerned with capturing the subjective aspects of indentureship. Viewing Asian immigrants as "both victims and products" of global social forces (p. 20), as "simultaneously Object and Subject" (p. 142), Look Lai acknowledges the agency and variety of responses evinced by indentured laborers.

Look Lai's depiction of immigrants' circumstances seems milder than Helly's, partly because of their respective levels of analysis – macro and micro. But also important is the distinction between the state-sponsored, state-controlled indenture project of Britain and the private enterprise-operated schemes that characterized contract labor to the Hispanophone destinations of Cuba and Peru. What is implicit in Look Lai becomes highlighted when compared with Helly: as dreadful as the indenture system was for the majority of its participants, the latitude with which private interests were able to conduct their enterprise was truly horrific. The contradiction lies not in the two books, but in the systems themselves: as Chinese and Indian laborers realized in rude awakenings upon reaching the plantations, indenture was another kind of peculiar institution – "a civil contract enforceable mainly with criminal sanctions" (Look Lai, p. 62).

In contrast to the British West Indies, indentureship in Cuba existed simultaneously with slavery. Shaped by cultural stereotypes as well as economic exigency, Chinese workers were viewed by creole planters as docile and therefore capable of working alongside enslaved laborers. "We have need of men who will work side by side with the slaves; for this, only the native sons of a country governed by the whip will do. This requisite is

fulfilled by the Chinese" (quoted by Helly, p. 11). The planters' goal was to extract profits with only nominal acknowledgment of the laborers' contracts. In addition to the demands of maximizing profit, determining how to treat these foreign non-white people posed a problem, since maintaining the fundamental white/non-white distinction was pivotal to keeping the system of slavery intact. Civil contracts were enforced with criminal sanctions, as the legalities differentiating the status and condition of slave and indentured were routinely ignored, and "slave-based racist logic" resulted in corporal punishment being meted out indiscriminately; "[i]n this regard the Cantonese were doubly maltreated: on one hand as wage laborers, on the other as nonwhite workers" (Helly, p. 22).

It is with direct reference to the criminality of indenture that the Chinese laborers in Cuba were briefly offered a voice for their experiences. Their testimonies suggest their acquiescence to the situation and resistance to it, and allow glimpses of aspirations, disappointments, and expectations – the familiar cultural models against which the unfamiliar was measured and assessed.

The *Report* is organized in three parts. "Despatch to Yamen" presents the commissioners' outline of their itinerary and summary of their findings. "Replies to Queries" forms the bulk of the text and contains responses to questions concerning the laborers' comprehension of their circumstances, treatment by employers, experiences after terms of indenture have expired, medical care and causes of death, demographic and social differences among them throughout the island, and so on. "Memorandum and Regulations" presents a brief overview of immigrant legislation in Cuba.

In their responses to questions, laborers do not appear reticent, and convey a sense of their bewilderment as well as fear and frustration. At least three broad themes emerge: a diaspora of betrayal (Khan 1995), a culture of terror (Taussig 1984), and a strategy of divide and rule. Much like their Indian counterparts, the Chinese told of being deceived or coerced into emigrating (p. 39, 77, *passim*). Often forced by planters to re-contract after their terms were completed, unapprised of their rights, and unfamiliar with the language, laborers were kept off balance, and thus more tractable. Shame and humiliation began upon landing, as close physical examinations on the ship's dock treated laborers "as if an ox or a horse" (p. 48 ff.) Laborers recounted the encouragement of inter-group conflict between "negroes" and "coolies," of negroes being "urged" to "beat" them (p. 66), and of their puzzlement and anger when they were treated "like a negro slave" (p. 89). Finally, they reported living in a "constant terror of death" and suffering from random searches and seizures by police, described prisons on the plantations that housed stocks, chains, and other



torture devices, and quoted planters, remarking that "it matters not if one is beaten to death as ten others can be bought in his place" (pp. 55, 57, 95). Some asserted that "jail is preferable to the plantation" (p. 70), though they "may be left there two or three years without being tried" (p. 83).

The overview of Spanish and colonial governments' immigrant legislation in Cuba and its transformation over time highlights the profound disjuncture between real and ideal evinced in the decrees (compare Dayan 1995), and the impact of this contradiction on the lives of the immigrants. For example, one article states that "[i]mmigrants ... may publicly prosecute their employer" (p. 135), and another that while ill, an immigrant cannot be forced to work (p. 137). According to the depositions in Part Two, these recourses were routinely evaded or thwarted by planters and the authorities in sympathy with them. Following the "coolies'" reports of systematic abuse, these apparently benign regulations are particularly striking.

Helly's excellent introduction gives context to text, but readers would have benefited from amplified information – both background and analysis. Many of the rich statements made by the laborers interviewed invite further clarification or contextualization. For example, two men report that they were "disliked" (and therefore mistreated) because they married white women (pp. 86, 115); a third man married a white woman after amassing some wealth, yet was arrested when attempting to leave the island (p. 115). Every individual has a story and certainly each detail cannot be considered. However, mixed "race" unions and social hierarchies have been important phenomena in the Americas as well as in plantation societies in general; given the condition of Chinese in nineteenth-century Cuba, these processes beg some exploration.

The *Report's* encouragement of further questions, however, attests to the intrinsic interest of this invaluable primary resource. Painful and troubling to read, this compact text is nevertheless essential in our efforts to apprehend the history of those who created the Americas.

The comparison undertaken by Look Lai is two-tiered. He is interested in British West Indian indenture as a "hybrid labor system" (p. 268), where it can be economically central (as it was in Guyana and Trinidad) or peripheral (as in Jamaica). He is also interested in the respective "adjustments" made by Indians and Chinese to their new social environments. Framing these foci is the premise that labor migrations, including the different moments of indenture, reflect a "real structural *interconnection*" among polities globally (p. 266). The main issue in post-emancipation British West Indian society was planter profit and labor control, and

freedpersons' efforts to remain empowered in the plantation work environment. Immigration thus was seen by planters "as a weapon in the class struggle against the newly freed Blacks" (p. 12). Plantation systems during indenture varied but were linked in a political economy. The legacy of a "'native'-immigrant dialectic" (p. 269), where cheap labor is introduced to erode the strength of local labor, has shaped the class and ethnic conflicts common in post-indenture societies.

The book begins by contrasting the factors that influenced emigration from India and China, providing detailed demographic and other quantitative data. It then discusses how the British West Indian indenture system was formally organized and what its main characteristics were, and delves into the problem of labor control and the concomitant protean nature of labor contract construction for Chinese and Indians.

The plantation experience of Chinese, primarily in Trinidad and Guyana, is next considered, in terms of three periods of immigration characterized by demographic shifts, relations with Africans, and the state of sugar production. Of particular interest here are contemporary accounts of Chinese temperament and character that reveal current stereotypes and the cultural hierarchies they informed. Also important were the various forms of resistance ("adjustment" problems [p. 100]) engaged in by the Chinese, from refusal to work, violence against management, and desertion, to joining free settlements, opium abuse, and suicide. As in Cuba, life on the plantation was such that imprisonment was often preferred to "the trials of plantation life" (p. 101).

The book then takes up the plantation experience of Indians, discussing it in terms of three indenture phases and focusing on Trinidad and Guyana. Labor control is the paramount issue here, too, exemplified by the "oft-quoted remark" of British Guianese planters that indentured laborers should be "at work, in hospital, or in gaol" (p. 127). As problems of vagrancy, strikes, mobility of African and Indian workers, and intra-group status differences among Indians grew, the penal sanctions of labor laws became differentially enforced, courts increasingly functioned as instruments of labor discipline, and labor control became the framework within which alleged cultural identities were imagined.

Look Lai next chronicles the critiques of indenture, concentrating on local responses. The perceptions of Indians as victims, co-conspirators, or something in between fluctuated according to particular perspectives. Again, the utility of various cultural stereotypes played a key role in these debates. As others have also noted, Look Lai observes that critics made no distinction between the system and the "nature of the immigrants themselves" (p. 172).

The penultimate chapter focuses on the assimilation of Chinese after indenture. Compared to Indians, these immigrants experienced a rapid move away from agriculture and into trading, though this process took longer in Guyana than in Trinidad given dissimilar enclave economies.

Finally, the book takes up the assimilation of Indians after indenture. Their lives characterized by wide post-indenture options, Indians were “free to choose their own lifestyles after their indenture terms were over” (p. 219). This is an unexpectedly optimistic assessment, though Look Lai does note that certain patterns predominated – notably agriculture.

The book represents massive archival work, and adds much to our study of Asians in the Americas. A next step would be to meditate on why the picture looks the way it does. For example, a number of colonial reports and commentaries are quoted to exemplify particular points. These texts, however, constitute and reflect the ideology of the period; examination of their implicit assumptions would have enhanced the discussion.

The book also betrays some reliance on received wisdom in the scholarship on Indo-Caribbean populations. The pre-eminence of agricultural pursuits far into the twentieth century is said to have been due in part to Indians’ “innate love for and knowledge of the land and its cultivation” (p. 220). Given the data explaining Indo-Caribbeans’ location in ethnically segmented labor markets, mention of this familiar stereotype of inherent propensities is curious. A related idea present is that, essentially, culture acted as a deterrent to “building cultural bridges with the non-Indian colonial labor force” (p. 257). Occupationally and residentially segregated Indians’ “cultural tenacity” rendered the majority “culturally impervious” to “Westernizing forces” (p. 259); they were most preoccupied with “creeping Westernization” into their traditions (p. 257). This is a popular assumption among many observers of Indo-Caribbean populations, where a reified and self-contained “culture” allegedly taints perceptions of the other, prevents non-biased interaction, and encourages self-segregation from the larger society. The significance of structural interconnections that Look Lai rightly emphasizes for the macro level is not always as thoroughly explored on the ground. In everyday social relations as well as conventional wisdom, class position and its attendant cultural valences often get conflated with (implicitly static) depictions of cultural heritage.

This volume raises a number of critical questions. Other than being joined, through a Western lens, as “Asians,” why, how, and when are these populations – Chinese and Indian – comparable? When is “Asian” identity, and thus experience, a given, when is it to be unpacked, and what does this tell us about how we conceive of difference – immigrant, “foreign,” or otherwise? It also poses a question about historiography in the

Americas. The weighting of this volume toward more discussion of Indians than of Chinese, not directly commented on by Look Lai, calls attention to a possible paucity of material on Chinese relative to other immigrant populations. Not likely to be coincidental, this is intriguing.

Given the burgeoning interest in the complexities of colonial political economy and the populations that created the Americas, *The Cuba Commission Report* and *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar* should be required reading for Caribbeanists, scholars of Asian diasporas, and labor historians. In addition, these books should be read by those concerned with the condition and rights of dispersed peoples – past, present, and future.

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## POLITICAL STRUGGLE AND WEST INDIES CRICKET

*An Area of Conquest: Popular Democracy and West Indies Cricket Supremacy.* HILARY MCD BECKLES (ed.). Kingston: Ian Randle, 1995. xviii + 154 pp. (Paper n.p.)

*Liberation Cricket: West Indies Cricket Culture.* HILARY MCD BECKLES & BRIAN STODDART (eds.). Kingston: Ian Randle, 1995. xii + 403 pp. (Paper n.p.)

We discovered cricket's importance in the English-speaking Caribbean nearly thirty years ago when we took up our first post in the West Indies. Exploring the Mona campus of the University of the West Indies, we were alarmed to observe so many people who appeared to be hearing-disabled. Wherever we went we found people with ear-pieces who were slightly distracted and at the same time prone to violent mood swings, ranging from the depths of despair to enormous elation. Uncertain about the meaning of what we observed, but reluctant, as newcomers, to reveal our ignorance of public health problems in the region, we delayed inquiring about hearing disabilities until we could confide our concerns to a trusted friend. At first convulsed with laughter, she finally recovered sufficiently to assure us that the people of the West Indies did not suffer disproportionately from hearing loss. Rather, the large numbers of people with ear-pieces were listening to a cricket test match!

It was thus that we, early on, learned of the importance of cricket in the region's culture. Nothing in the most recent ten years during which we have been observing and actively participating in Caribbean basketball has suggested otherwise. Cricket is the leading sport in the region and as such is a significant part of the everyday life of the people. Precisely because cricket is an activity about which large numbers of West Indians

care passionately, the establishment of the Centre for Cricket Research at UWI, Cave Hill, is a welcome development. By focusing curricular and research attention on an activity of importance to the region's people, the Centre represents a significant step in the University's process of academic decolonization. The two books under consideration here represent the first widely distributed fruits of the Centre's activities, and they too are welcome. *Liberation Cricket* [LC] is an extensive collection, containing twenty-three different papers, while *An Area of Conquest* [AC] presents the nine lectures delivered in the Centre's 1994 Sir Garfield Sobers Public Lecture Series.

Taken as a source of historical information, these volumes are invaluable. What is most dramatically revealed is that cricket has been an important locus of the struggle for civil rights in the region. Cricket was brought to the Caribbean by the British, with, as Trevor Marshall writes, "the understanding that it would remain a game among 'gentlemen' – that is persons of British stock and ethnicity" (AC p. 16). But the history of the sport is one in which there has been a continuous and increasingly successful struggle to lower barriers of class, color, and gender, facilitating increased participation by Caribbean people in the play of the game.

These changes were not easily or steadily accomplished. Rather, they occurred in fits and starts, were initiated by individuals in excluded groups, and met resistance from most of those already involved in the game. Several articles in these collections recount the famous struggle to have a black man named as captain of a test match team, a fight finally successfully won in 1960 with the selection of Frank Worrell. Others document less well-known examples of struggles to expand participation: by color, when a racially integrated West Indian team played against England in 1899; by class, when lower-class black Barbadians founded their own cricket club, Empire, in response to their exclusion from the middle-class black Spartan club; and by gender, when women finally began to play organized cricket in the early 1960s. While much has been achieved in democratizing the play of the game, these volumes also suggest that full equality has yet to be attained. It is clear, for example, that the management of cricket was concentrated in the hands of the elite in the past, that this remains the case to some extent today, and that women's play of the game is still more tolerated than encouraged.

Precisely because of cricket's long history in the region and the struggles which have occurred in the sport, C.L.R. James's query, "What do they know of cricket who only cricket know?" (1963) resonates and undergirds virtually all of the papers under review. James believed – and most social scientists who study sport have come to understand – that the

study of sport necessitates placing it in social context. Understanding its dynamic requires that it not be dissociated from the many social influences that impinge upon it. At the same time, the impact of sport on social institutions must also be recognized. Thus a constant interactive relationship is present whereby sport both influences the structure and institutions of society and is influenced by them.

While this perspective is broadly useful and is acknowledged repeatedly in these collections, it is nonetheless the case that in both of them important questions of method remain unexamined. The most crucial of these concerns the rules of evidence to be employed: what kinds of data are required to test hypotheses; what decision rules will be used to choose among competing hypotheses? Inattention to method is frequently encountered in the study of popular culture and more broadly in the social history literature. Its omission in these volumes exacts the same kind of price which its absence has imposed in those other contexts: an inability to choose among competing hypotheses. Because cricket in the West Indies is so important, the failure to impose methodological discipline is frustrating. Difficult questions which go to the heart of the anti-colonial struggle and of the efforts to build a Caribbean nation necessarily go unanswered because, too often, cricket scholarship becomes a cricket celebration.

The most important competing interpretations concerning cricket center on whether its introduction and spread can be best described as repressive or as liberatory. On one side, Brian Stoddart argues that cricket is a "preserver of dominant cultural values" and thus a consensus-building mechanism in the society (*LC* p. 392). Helen Tiffin agrees with this "repressive" interpretation, claiming that cricket is and has been "the most insidiously influential of all imperial cultural forms" (*LC* p. 363). In contrast are those of the "liberatory" school, like Richard D.E. Burton, who believes that West Indies cricket and cricket heroes are "symbolic subverters and destroyers of a world where white is might, and as such, embodiments of a dream-world in which by identification and projection, every black West Indian, be he never so poor, is monarch for the day" (*LC* p. 95). Furthermore, according to Woodville Marshall, cricket has provided the region with "a living tradition of achievement and thereby a sense of national identity" (*AC* p. 31). Those who see cricket in this light believe that the sport has been the "subversive influence of a maturing popular egalitarian struggle" (Hilary Beckles, *AC* p. 43), allowing for the expression of "strong class hostility" (Orlando Patterson, *LC* p. 145).

The issues raised in these articles concerning the relationship between cricket and West Indies development are obviously of great historic significance. If a consensus were actually to emerge that a popular culture

form such as cricket serves to foster anti-colonialism and nationalism, it would be of more than academic interest. Similarly, political consequences would likely flow from an alternative understanding – that cricket limits the aspirations and subverts the values and culture of the West Indian people. In either case, such findings, if valid, could inform a new strategy in the long, and so far unsuccessful, effort to build a popular West Indian nationalism that could win in the political arena. The problem is that there is nothing in either collection that provides a basis for choosing between the liberatory and repressive schools of thought. There is no methodological discussion dealing with the need to adjudicate between the two views or concerning the handling of evidence and data in assessing competing claims.

The most egregious example of these difficulties centers on attempts to evaluate the riots that have occurred at three test matches in the region: in Guyana in 1963, Jamaica in 1968, and Trinidad in 1970. Neither liberatory nor repressive theorists address method in offering their equally strong but mutually exclusive interpretations of these events. Orlando Patterson, for example, assesses the Jamaican disturbances as a radical expression of political dissatisfaction. He argues that “refusing to accept the decision of the umpire ... amounts to a denial, a threat to the very existence of the society.” Patterson believes that lower-class spectators use cricket venues to express their “wish to destroy the society, the system which is the source of their poverty, their humiliation, and their oppression” (*LC* p. 147). Maurice St. Pierre, too, believes that “though such disturbances become more a gesture of despair than any attempt to hurt anyone specifically, such disturbances indicate the existence of possible ingredients for revolutionary action” (*LC* p. 139).

In contrast, Stoddart emphasizes the infrequency and atypicality of cricket riots, and argues that because West Indians share a love for cricket, the sport is an important mechanism for “reducing areas of potential conflict in society.” Indeed, given cricket grounds that “are still tiny, cramped, short on facilities, long on excitement, and fuelled by rum,” Stoddart is amazed at how “remarkably few riots” there have actually been at West Indies cricket matches (*LC* p. 248). Both positions cannot be valid; but no effort is presented to help choose between the two.

Lying behind and inspiring these studies is, of course, C.L.R. James. As a journalist, James saw the connection between society and cricket, and as an activist he influenced both, especially in his leadership of the 1960 crusade for Worrell’s captaincy. Thus it is entirely appropriate that, in *Liberation Cricket*, not only is a long section from his autobiographical



*Beyond the Boundary* included, but four separate articles take up various aspects of his work.

In one of these, Kenneth Surin explores James's emphasis on cricket's ability to express political impulses. However, writes Surin, James "wants to say much more than this." Citing James's remark that cricket is "a game of high and difficult technique," Surin attributes to him the view that "there is something inherent in the game itself which makes it possible for cricket to have played so significant a part in the anti-colonial struggles of the West Indian people" (*LC* p. 316).

We are not sufficiently experts on James to know the extent to which he believed this view of cricket's inherent characteristics. But on the assumption that he did and given his wide influence, we can then better understand why a third hypothesis, which we concluded was appropriate for basketball, has not appeared in the cricket literature. Concerning Caribbean basketball, we argued that the sport was neither inherently liberatory nor oppressive – that under most circumstances it was neither. Basketball, we believe, is generally played in what we call an "open cultural space," removing it from any inherently repressive or liberatory consequences for the society (Mandle & Mandle 1994). We suspect that cricket, too, is generally free from ideological content. The fact that it has been the locus of Caribbean political and social struggles seems to have been determined by such factors as who is allowed to manage, play, or watch the game, and by the extent to which political insurgents in the wider society see sport as a venue for their struggle. In this perspective, the reason that Caribbean cricket has been politically important does not reside in the qualities of the sport itself. Rather it is because the Caribbean people who struggled for civic rights saw that this very popular sport was a favorable terrain upon which to mount their effort for change.

An open space perspective further recommends itself because it would allow scholars to avoid the kinds of excessive claims present in, for example, June Soomer's lecture, "Cricket and the Origins of Federation Organizations." We know of no reason to believe that, as she writes, cricket "reflected the black West Indian personality and sense of community" more than does any other sport that is popular in the Caribbean (*LC* p. 109). Similarly, given the problems even today of building and extending Caribbean integration, Soomer clearly exaggerates when she declares that "the struggles which we have endured to build cricket into a Caribbean institution demonstrate our commitment to the concept of integration" (*AC* p. 103). Cricket's historic importance lay not in its intrinsic liberatory or repressive characteristics, but rather in the fact that it approached its

pinnacle of popularity at just the time when the region was engaged in its most important anti-colonial and anti-racist struggles. Battles were fought out in cricket, not because the sport inherently possesses more political characteristics than other cultural forms, but because of the convergence in time of two separate developments – the growth of cricket, a sport at which West Indians excelled, and the growing belief by the people of the West Indies that this terrain like others belonged to them.

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THE BROMIDES OF GODS, THE PASSIONS OF HUMANS

*Histoire du chocolat*. NIKITA HARWICH. Paris: Desjonquères, 1992. 292 pp. (Paper, n.p.)

*The Chocolate Tree: A Natural History of Cacao*. ALLEN M. YOUNG. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994. xv + 200 pp. (Cloth US\$ 24.95)

A recent hurried look at some bookstore shelves on the Boulevard St. Michel was enough to convince this reviewer that French publishing has been infected with wild enthusiasm for the history of substances. This may reflect some older vogue; in France as elsewhere, fashions come and go. But today's trend is entirely separate from the Braudel era, from those pre-occupations with the material world and the social struggles it embodies, which Braudel himself had sedulously popularized. Instead there is a concern with substances, especially edibles, and how *good* they are: a fascination with *sensation* that is not at all surprising at this historical juncture.

The variety of such works is considerable. One series, in which Harwich's volume figures, is dubbed simply "Outre-Mer," and moves blithely across tea, rubber, and much else in the tropical world. There are now also coffee table "studies"; one of them, on henna ("*plante du Paradis*"), is composed largely of photographs. (It is endowed with a text, that should not distract the viewer.) A scholarly collection of papers on Mediterranean sweeteners and a pedestrian book on the history of sugar also figure in a random batch of such works; there are no signs of decline in their production.

The question is not why such books (*Que sais-je?* was producing them, many of them good, decades ago), but why *now*? It may be owing to a rediscovery of the role individual commodities came to play in the rise of

capitalism; but it's probably simpler than that. My mother always said that if you put all of your old clothes in a barrel and turned it upside down when it was full, you'd be back in style again. There was, after all, a time when such substances were rare or precious or new – or even all three. That they have become prosaic in our wondrous world of today is not the same as their becoming trivial. Perhaps they are simply being thought of in a different way. Instead of touting their virtues, or figuring out who the touts were, we scholars can rhapsodize about their effects, revel in their manifestations, wonder at their power.

The two books under review differ in nearly every way. Volumes in the series in which Young's appears "describe the biology and natural history of individual plant or animal species" (the bald eagle, the red fox, among others), "and allow insight into how science is conducted." Young clearly takes this description seriously. But Harwich (who has written, among other things, on Venezuela's 1929 economic crisis, on bank and state in that country, and on something called the New York & Bermudez Company) here turns decisively toward a subject about which he apparently knew little before, and in the direction of a wider readership. One chapter only in his 266 pages runs to more than twenty pages, and there are fourteen chapters, all festooned with subheadings (such as "*l'heureuse monnaie de Pierre Martyr*" and "*Méfiez-vous du chocolat de Chiapas?*" and concluding with "*Quetzalcóatl s'est-il vengé?*"). Young's text totals less than 175 pages; meticulously detailed, it forms a more coherent whole. While Harwich's chapters provide information and stimulate transient reflection, they sometimes come off reading too much like reports in a literate Parisian weekend newspaper.

Whatever the reasons why such subjects have returned, and whatever makes their return different, a backward glance may help. In 1955, when René F. Millon wrote a doctoral thesis on cacao entitled "When money grew on trees," the subject was not eye-catching. Unfortunately, the thesis has never been published. Millon was interested in determining the pre-Columbian extent of cacao cultivation; in evaluating the claim that cacao beans had served as money; and in weighing their role in trade, in traditional land patterns of cacao production, and in pre-Columbian cacao consumption. He made good use of the *Codex Mendoza*, the *Relaciones de Yucatán*, Motolinía, Juan de Torquemada (reputedly given to exaggeration), the *Suma de visitas de pueblos por orden alfabético* and (unless this reviewer has missed something) of every ancient historical source anyone else has quoted on cocoa in the last forty years. But except for one kind of anthropologist, people weren't much interested in cacao, cocoa, or chocolate in 1955; and now they are. Quincentenary puffery,

which so publicized New World cultigens in recent years, is one reason. Some diverting and educational works accompanied the propaganda. Foster and Cordell's collection, *Chilies to Chocolate* (1992), Amal Naj's breezy *Peppers*, and the late Sophie Coe's excellent *America's First Cuisines* (1995), followed quite naturally from Salaman's study of the potato of long ago (1949) and Albert Crosby's pioneering *The Columbian Exchange* (1972).

How differently such subjects have come to be viewed is suggested by a recent publishing event. Not very long ago, The Book of the Month Club chose as one of its alternative selections a coy little volume entitled *Chocolate Sex: A Naughty Little Book*. This truly unspeakable product of Time Warner Books is noteworthy only because of its selection by the Book of the Month Club. It would be nice to believe that it was chosen by them sight unseen. But more likely (and more depressing), it was chosen *because* it is such bad soft porn. Like the book on henna, it has a text; but unlike the henna volume, which is visually splendid, its photographs are merely of scantily-clad women and men eating chocolate, possessing no redeeming value of any sort, certainly not erotic.

That such a book could have been imagined at all owes to chocolate's current reputation. It is now fashionable to impute its appeal to its chemical composition. The excitation of ardor is repeatedly evoked in this connection, even though not everyone is equally convinced. Hetherington and MacDiarmid (1993), for example, begin their article on "chocolate addiction" as follows:

Chocolate is identified as the single most craved food in studies of food cravings. More than most foods, chocolate has come to signify luxury, reward and pleasure. It is not surprising that chocolate is considered pleasurable by most people since it combines positive orosensory qualities, including a highly preferred sweet taste and creamy texture with positive connotations developed from childhood of gift-giving and special occasions. It has been suggested that chocolate cravings have a biological basis, associated with depressed mood states, the menstrual cycle, and psycho-pharmacological effects. However, equally plausible is that the desire for chocolate simply derives from the desire for sensory gratification (1993:233).

Their doubts about the chemistry (not shared by Harwich) lead one toward the power of hype, at least as a partial explanation. Like sugar, the argument is not really about whether the substance is good, but about how much more of it people can be caged or bullied into eating. When worldwide commercialization of chocolate was underway, M. Arthur Mangin did his best, in *Le cacao et le chocolat* (1860), to convey an im-

pression entirely different from the folks at Time Warner. As with Coca Cola and many other novelties, the hook at first was hearth and health. Mangin dwells on chocolate as a family food, homely and warm, something never served in bars, "the food of sober, orderly, and peaceful folk" (Walter Baker 1886:66). After telling us how many folks get employment from the cultivation, transport, and processing of cocoa, Mangin concluded: "Its consumption should be encouraged and respected by all wise governments, not only because it is physically beneficial but, and we do not hesitate to say it, because it is *morally* salutary" (Walter Baker 1886: 65).

There is, one supposes, no reason why the same substance cannot be "the ultimate aphrodisiac and quintessential seducer," as the dust jacket of Time Warner's product would have it (Barber, Whittin and Loew 1994) on the one hand, and "morally salutary" on the other – just as long as the profits roll in.

Harwich's book begins and ends with Quetzalcóatl; the chapters vary not only in length but also in scope. In Chapter 7, for example, he credits Conrad van Houten with having invented the press with which cocoa butter could be squeezed out, thereby first making cocoa powder, and freeing the cocoa butter to be used to enrich ordinary cocoa beans – the real beginnings of solid chocolate. Van Houten did do all of that; but his press is clearly depicted in Nicolas de Blégny's treatise on chocolate, coffee and tea published in 1687, 141 years earlier. It was hardly an original idea of Van Houten's. Harwich cites de Blégny often, but appears to have missed this curious connection.

With Van Houten's success, the era of solid chocolate was initiated – before then there was nothing of the kind, even though the Royal Navy had long been issued chocolate "bars" with which to brew their hot cocoa. For modern consumption, of course, the beverage has become relatively minor, the solid enormously important. In his chapter on the modern market, Harwich points to the sevenfold increase in bean production between 1900 and 1940. This was stimulated mostly by demand for the solid confectionary, and nothing has slowed that upward trend. Consumption continues to rise at the rate of three to four percent per year; the Swiss, Norwegians, British, Belgians, Dutch, Germans, and Austrians lead the world with annual per caput consumption figures running between 14 and 17.5 pounds.

Though Harwich thinks that Hershey, Pennsylvania is named Hersheyville, he has nonetheless identified the United States as one of the odder national consumers of chocolate. What he does not mention is that current per caput consumption in this country runs about half that of Switzerland.

And is it not interesting how many of the big consuming countries are Germanic? (Chocolate consumption figures really need to be accompanied by sugar consumption figures; they are more revealing together.)

Though Young devotes most of his book to natural history, he includes some interesting information on modern developments. Only about a fifth of world cacao production comes from plantations, but several North American companies own their own estates, including the M&M Mars Company, and a Chicago firm demurely named The World's Finest Chocolate Company. Without pressing his point, Young writes:

Part of the mystique of cacao is that its production still largely depends on the small-scale farmer, deploying fairly ancient methods for curing the beans, while the technology for processing chocolate has been large-scale in response to high demand. (pp. 77-78)

Again:

Chemists still do not understand the nature of the chocolate flavor, which depends upon hundreds of substances in the cacao seed or cocoa bean. Attempts to manufacture an acceptable synthetic chocolate, bypassing the cacao tree altogether, have failed. So although chocolate is to some extent an invented product in that the seeds are treated in certain ways to produce the unique flavor, no one has successfully come up with a synthetic counterpart to the chemist wrought in the rain forest. (p. 79)

And finally:

Because the cacao tree is still tied ecologically to the tropical rain forest, the more we can incorporate certain features of the rain forest into the design of commercial plantations, the more likely we are to maintain production at suitable economic levels in the long run. This may necessitate recognizing what the Mayas, Aztecs and other Mesoamerican peoples realized long ago – that growing “the food of the gods” in small groves can reap considerable harvests.

Without even knowing it, these ancient peoples may have learned to cultivate cacao in a manner consistent with good natural pollination and disease control. In such modesty there can be marvelous accomplishments, namely the delightful discovery of chocolate long ago and the livelihoods of rain forest zone farmers both then and now. To this I add also ... interpreting the cacao tree as a creature of nature, something that compels us to protect what little, extant collective tropical nature is left in the ecologically and culturally rich isthmus of Mesoamerica. In doing so, we might well be insuring, in the long run, the world's coveted supply of chocolate, while protecting many more biological riches integrated into the complex fabric of tropical diversity. (p. 173)

Both of these books are useful, but Young leads us to more serious reflection. The definitive book on chocolate, which will do for the subject what Salaman has done for potatoes or Warman for maize, remains to be written.

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RICHARD PRICE & SALLY PRICE

## TURNING COO-COO

"I were lying upon the ground  
The goblet and the water was passed around  
I had a taste of the fowl and the rice  
The coccoo and the goat in the sacrifice..."  
— from Tiger's "Yaraba Shango" (1936)<sup>1</sup>

The pairing of cornmeal and okra, which pops up everywhere in the Caribbean, nicely captures the amalgam of African and American resources that has produced so much of the region's cultures, and bears witness to the earliness of culinary creolization – on both sides of the Atlantic. Corn (maize) is, of course, native to the New World, and okra (gumbo) to the Old. The *Dictionary of Jamaican English* includes back-to-back entries on *oka* and *okra* – the former from a Yoruba word for corn, though in Jamaica it refers to a cassava mush served with an okra sauce (Cassidy & Le Page 1967:328). And while the Ewe word *kukú* means "corn dumpling" (Cassidy & Le Page 1967:135), its Caribbean cognates generally signal the presence of okra – as in Bahamian *cuckoo soup* (Holm 1982: 55). Just to the north in the United States, that classic of southern cuisine, fried okra, is made by coating the pods in cornmeal before dropping them in the bacon drippings. At the southern end of the Caribbean, the Brazilian dish called *angu* (from Yoruba – see Schneider 1991:14) is made with cornmeal (or cassava-flour); its Saramaka namesake (*angú*), though made with rice- or banana-flour, is usually served with an okra sauce. And in Barbados, cornmeal and okra comprise the essential ingredients of a national culinary tradition, which we will spell *coo-coo*.<sup>2</sup>

Research on coo-coo quickly pulls us into a comparative consideration of *foofoo* (Cassidy & Le Page 1967:191; Miller & Henry 1982:35; Harris 1988:85; Grant 1989:154), which in the Bahamas, can refer to an okra stew (Holm 1982:80). *Foofoo*, in turn, leads back to West Africa, where the

"gluey" consistency of the staple *foofoo* (usually made from cassava) is as well known as the "sliminess" of Caribbean coo-coo (Wilson 1971:19, 73). *Foofoo* also takes us into the realm of the closely related dish, *funchi* or *fungee* (Dijkhoff 1985:60; Cassidy & Le Page 1967:192; Ortiz 1973: 281, 291), sometimes designating a dish made from cassava, but much more frequently a cornmeal pone. In the Netherlands Antilles, the addition of okra turns *funchi* into *funchi ku yambo*, or coo-coo. (Our correspondents in contemporary Puerto Rico report that *funche* has become rare because of its associations with economic hard times; Sid Mintz reminisces that "Elí talked about painting the kitchen walls yellow with it when Taso was blacklisted and they had to eat it all of the time.") And *funchi*, with the addition of beans, produces another culinary cousin – the *tootoo* (*tutu*) of Curaçao (Dijkhoff 1985:142).

But let's focus on Caribbean coo-coo, which is a rich enough subject on its own. Lise Winer offers a number of Trinidad and Tobago expressions that allude to coo-coo, including: "Boy, you coo-coo burn" ("You are in trouble"), "Your coo-coo cook this time" ("You are finished, ruined"), and "Me and he coo-coo doan soak" ("We don't get along well"). Sometimes glossed simply as a "side dish," coo-coo can designate foods based on a diversity of ingredients, including cassava, plantains, and breadfruit, and incorporating anything from salt beef or salt cod to sweet potatoes, tomatoes, or coconut milk. But "real" (Bajan) coo-coo is okra and cornmeal, "turned" in broth with a "coo-coo stick" until it achieves the correct consistency, and coated lightly with butter. When tradition is properly respected, it is served with steamed flying fish.

An essay entitled "Cuckoo and Culture" probes the dish's deeper significance. Commenting on the climactic scene of George Lamming's *In the Castle of My Skin*, Edward Baugh (1977:30) argues that, in watching the boy watching his mother as she turns her coo-coo, we witness "the creation of order out of disorder, and beauty out of ugliness." At the end of the cooking process, the mixture is scooped from the iron pot with a calabash, and reversed onto the plate.

The calabash had given it a smooth even curve all round. It was like a visitor waiting to be shown in. Then she applied a thin paste of butter. The heat melted it and the mixture seemed to shine. The ochroe seeds were a dull pink and all over the surface of this curve you could see them pushing up like dots that decorated the mixture. Here and there were the bits of green that edged the slices of ochroe. Whether or not you liked to eat cuckoo it was something you could look at and feel a quiet satisfaction from. (Lamming 1953:282)

A few years later in Brooklyn, another Bajan mother bent to the task:

As the late summer sunset flamed above the brownstones Suggie Skeete prepared her meal of cuckoo. In the solemn pose of a priest preparing a sacrament, she stood at the stove in the cramped kitchen, slowly pouring yellow corn meal into a pot of simmering okra and water. Then with a wooden spatula she blended the meal and okra water, adding more water as the meal thickened. Soon steam flew up in little puffs from the turning meal, and her stroke quickened until perspiration broke in bright nodes on her brow and the flesh under her arm shuddered. When the corn meal was done she lopped it into a bowl lined with butter and slapped the bowl between her hands until the cuckoo – smooth and glistening with butter, studded pink and green from the okra, with steam rising from its dome – resembled a small speckled sun. (Marshall 1970:19)

These passages suggest that coo-coo, perhaps more than anything else, symbolizes home for Bajans – for Lamming's character it's what he lovingly watches as he's preparing to leave to become a man, and for Marshall's character, in her dreary northern surroundings, the coo-coo sets her to dreaming about her home in Barbados, with the yam patch and the mango tree, the soft-sloping hills, the sugar cane, her goat, and lizards sidling under the dry leaves.

Around Christmas 1993, we had an opportunity to turn some coo-coo for a special guest, visiting in Martinique for a conference. Lamming seemed genuinely pleased, even comparing our version to his mother's, though he did mutter something about how anthropologists of all people should know that coo-coo should never be served on Sunday. From the Atlantis Hotel in Barbados, where he was living, he later wrote:

The Atlantis staff were quite startled by the unheard-of event of cou cou on Sunday; but this was nothing to compare with the disbelief that it was as good as theirs. I was going to say that it turned out to be as good because "turn" is the verb we use for make in the preparation of the ochros and meal. You can either turn cou cou or you can't turn cou cou. I forgot to ask about your "stick" because you turn with a "stick" which is a thin lath of wood about the length of a cutlass. Stick or no stick, Sally came good, as they say in Trinidad.

The shock, to Bajans, of serving this dish on Sundays was vehemently contested by a number of aficionados from other parts of the Caribbean.<sup>3</sup> "That's nonsense!" cried some; "You're *supposed* to have coo-coo on Sundays!" objected others. Several explained the "prohibition" as a simple preference by Bajans for fancier cooking, including meat, on Sundays.

Because of the okra, coo-coo is sometimes thought of as being slimy –

*babosa*, as they say in highland Puerto Rico – and this quality has even been linked to Lammings's inclusion of a character called Mr. Slime in *In the Castle of My Skin* – a man who “betrays [people] in order to satisfy his personal greed” (Baugh 1977:31). Which reminds us – it's time to publish this year's Caribbeanist Hall of Shame (which, happily, is briefer than in past years), before serving up our own mix of bibliographic left-overs. As usual, we list those books that (as of press time, January 1996) we have been unable to review because the scholars who agreed to the task (identified here by initials in square brackets) have – despite reminder letters – neither provided a review nor returned the books so that they could be assigned to someone else. As in the past, these paragraphs may serve as a kind of backlist “books received.”

Two scholars who promised review articles on Cuba have never come through with their manuscripts. The first [by N.P.V.] would have included *The Politics of Psychiatry in Revolutionary Cuba*, by Charles J. Brown & Armando M. Lago (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction, 1991, cloth US\$ 29.95, paper US\$ 17.95), *The Cuban Revolution into the 1990s: Cuban Perspectives*, edited by the Centro de Estudios Sobre América (Boulder CO: Westview, 1992, cloth US\$ 50.00, paper US\$ 19.95), *Work and Democracy in Socialist Cuba*, by Linda Fuller (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 44.95), *Cuba: The Revolution in Peril*, by Janette Habel (London: Verso, 1991, cloth US\$ 39.95), and *Cuban Politics: The Revolutionary Experiment*, by Rhoda P. Rabkin (New York, Praeger, 1991, cloth US\$ 39.95). The second [by J.S.] would have included *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev 1960-1963*, by Michael R. Beschloss (New York: Edward Burlingame, 1991, cloth US\$ 29.95), *The Shattered Crystal Ball: Fear and Learning in the Cuban Missile Crisis*, by James G. Blight (Savage MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1992, paper US\$ 14.95), *The Missiles of October: The Declassified Story of John F. Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis*, by Robert Smith Thompson (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993, paper US\$ 14.00), and “Everything within the Revolution”: *Cuban Strategies for Social Development Since 1960*, by Thomas C. Dalton (Boulder CO: Westview, 1993, paper US\$ 49.00).

Three double-book reviews have also failed to materialize: *Imperial Power and Regional Trade: The Caribbean Basin Initiative*, edited by Abigail B. Bakan, David Cox & Colin Leys (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993, paper US\$ 29.95) and *The Effect of a North American Free Trade Agreement on the Commonwealth Caribbean*, by Jennifer Hosten-Craig (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 49.95) [K.B.]; *Puerto Rico and the United States: The Quest for a New Encounter*, by Arturo Morales Carrión (San Juan: Editorial

Academica, 1990, paper n.p.) and *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, by Ronald Fernandez (Westport CT: Praeger, 1992, cloth US\$ 45.00) [A. G. G.]; and *Sir Arthur Lewis: An Economic & Political Portrait*, edited by Ralph Premdas & Eric St Cyr (Mona, Jamaica: ISER, 1991, n.p.) and *The Pursuit of Honour: The Life and Times of H.O.B. Wooding*, by Selwyn Ryan (Port of Spain: Paria Publishers [and ISER, UWI, St. Augustine, Trinidad], 1990, cloth n.p., paper n.p.) [D.M.].

Reviews of single books that have never been submitted include: *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami*, by Alejandro Portes & Alex Stepick (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 25.00, paper US\$ 15.00) [T.McC.]; *Labor in the Puerto Rican Economy: Post-war Development and Stagnation*, by Carlos E. Santiago (New York: Praeger, 1992, cloth US\$ 39.95) [J.L.]; *Inward Stretch Outward Reach: A Voice from the Caribbean*, by Rex Nettleford (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1993, paper £13.95) (E.R.); and *La urbanización en la cuenca del Caribe: Notas sobre un proceso de investigación en marcha*, edited by Alejandro Portes & Mario Lungo (San José, Costa Rica: FLASCO, 1992, paper US\$ 7.00) [C.C.].

As always, we would welcome these reviews even at this late date and will gladly publish them as a service both to the authors of the books and to our readers.

We begin our own annual year-end wrap-up with recent Caribbean fiction, an unsystematic selection consisting of what publishers have provided plus what we happen to have bought during the year. (As a matter of policy, the *NWIG* does not devote full reviews to literary works, but we continue the tradition of briefly noting those new works that we have seen in the last twelve months.)

The Guyanese master Wilson Harris has published a new novel, *Resurrection at Sorrow Hill* (London & Boston: Faber and Faber, 1993, cloth £14.99, US\$ 22.95), in which he once again pilots us far upriver to that remarkable region where Amerindian myth and Western and Eastern philosophy, as well as terror, violence, and above all madness, intertwine like the roots of some great tropical tree. The same publisher has also brought out Harris's *The Carnival Trilogy* (1993, paper £9.99, US\$ 15.95), which groups in a single volume his *Carnival* (1985), *The Infinite Rehearsal* (1987), and *The Four Banks of the River of Space* (1990) and includes an introduction in which the author muses about the changing ways in which he reads – several years after writing them – these astonishing novels.

A *Small Gathering of Bones* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1994, paper £5.99, US\$ 9.95), Patricia Powell's second novel, sensitively explores the social complexities of male homosexuality in late 1970s Jamaica. Ernest Pépin's *Coulée d'or* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995, paper FF 99.45) recreates a childhood world, with strong *créoliste* echoes, where Guadeloupean and French values by turn shine through. *La voie des cerfs-volants* (Paris: Stock, 1994, paper FF 85.00) continues Xavier Orville's preoccupations with Martiniquan ways of death as well as his very particular magico-poetics of daily life. In a very different register, Tony Delsham, editor-in-chief of the *créoliste* magazine *Antilla*, has published *Kout fê* (Schoelcher, Martinique: Editions M.G.G., 1994, paper FF 100.00), another in his series of popular French-language novels, which sets off hyper-contemporary, neurotic male characters against more successfully modernizing women.

This year brings a bounteous crop of first novels. *Fire in the Canes* (New York: Soho Press, 1995, cloth US\$ 22.00), by Brooklyn-based Barbadian Glenville Lovell, is a much-acclaimed epic that effectively mixes past and present, magic, folktale, and history. In *Spirits in the Dark* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1994, paper £5.99, US\$ 9.95), St. Vincent-born H. Nigel Thomas, who lives and teaches in Canada, presents a troubled coming-of-age tale of sexual and racial identity, framed by Spiritual Baptist-like mourning rites. *Consolation* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1994, paper £5.50), by Earl G. Long, a St. Lucian living in the United States, chronicles the all-too-familiar transformation of an Atlantic-coast village by outside developers. Playwright and ethnologist Ina Césaire, mixing earthy prose with traditional song lyrics in *Zonzon tête carrée* (Monaco: Editions du Rocher, 1994, paper FF 115.85), chronicles the misadventures of a Martiniquan "taxi-pays" driver of a half-century ago. *Cravache ou Le nègre soubarou* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995, paper FF 90.00), by Joscelyn Alcindor, who has lived since age twenty-one in the métropole, evokes, with rather less vibrancy, a slice of rural Martiniquan life during the same period. *La grande drive des esprits* (Paris: Le Serpent à Plumes, 1993), by Guadeloupean Gisèle Pineau, a bright new force on the Francophone literary scene, received the Prix Carbet 1993 as well as the Grand Prix des Lectrices from the magazine *Elle*. Finally, Richard Price & Sally Price's *Enigma Variations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, cloth US\$ 18.95) combines text and computer-generated images to raise questions about the nature of authenticity in a steamy Caribbean setting, and has been characterized by the *Wall Street Journal* as "a fabulous and unique artifact, an art-historical whodunit told with great flair, intelligence, and sensitivity."

We note four Antillean novels that have appeared in translation. Maryse Condé's *Crossing the Mangrove* (New York: Anchor Books,

Doubleday, 1995, paper US\$ 10.95), originally published in French in 1989, stages a polyvocal wake that criss-crosses the Guadeloupean imaginary. *Le gouverneur des dés* (Paris: Stock, 1995, paper FF 120.00) and *Mamzelle Libellule* (Paris: Le Serpent à Plumes, 1994, paper FF 85.00), both by Raphaël Confiant, were first published in Martiniquan Creole in the late 1980s and represent an excellent starting point for those interested in the writings of this co-founder of the *créolité* movement. And Dany Bébel-Gisler's *Leonora: The Buried Story of Guadeloupe* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994, cloth US\$ 50.00, paper US\$ 17.95), an unjustly neglected, luminous 1985 "*roman-témoignage*," presents a life history that Vera Kutzinski & Cynthia Mesh-Ferguson read, in a new afterword to the book, as "a revision of [Aimé Césaire's] *Cahier*, one that restores female voices to a literary culture dominated by ... decidedly masculinist visions of national history, identity, and authenticity."

Two fine short-story collections: Lawrence Scott's *Ballad for the New World and Other Stories* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1994, paper £4.99, US\$ 9.95) contains sharply etched tales of his native Trinidad, and Edwidge Danticat's celebrated *Krik? Krak!* (New York: Soho Press, 1995, cloth US\$ 20.00) presents a series of heart-rending, arresting, and poetically written accounts of Haiti and Haitians, mostly under the Duvaliers but also in Flatbush, by this gifted immigrant Brooklynite.

*The Heinemann Book of Caribbean Poetry*, compiled by Ian McDonald & Stewart Brown (Oxford: Heinemann, 1992, paper £6.99, US\$ 10.95), offers a balanced selection of largely recent pieces by an unusually wide range of poets from the Anglophone islands. *To Us, All Flowers are Roses* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995, paper US\$ 11.95) is Lorna Goodison's sixth collection of poems, strong and accomplished, about Jamaica past and present. *Tongue of Another Drum* (St. George's, Grenada: Talented House Publications, 1994, paper n.p.) is a first booklet of poems by a young Grenadian, Omowale David Franklyn. *Viajera del Polvo* (Santo Domingo: Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo, 1993, paper n.p.), Ida Hernández Caamaño's first collection, weaves together nostalgia, melancholy, and memories of adolescence in a dusty Dominican border town. And *Adyosi/Afscheid* (Nijmegen: Stichting Instituut ter Bevordering van de Surinamistiek, 1994, paper NLG 25.00) presents a half-century of largely unpublished Albert Helman poetry about Suriname – some poems in Sranan with Dutch translations and others originally written in Dutch – as well as favorite African American poetry the old master has translated from English and French into Dutch.

A number of works of literary criticism that, for one or another reason, are not getting fuller reviews deserve mention here. Laudable in its pan-

Caribbean intent, inevitably spotty in its execution, the nevertheless useful *A History of Literature in the Caribbean, Volume 1: Hispanic and Francophone Regions* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994, cloth US\$ 150.00) was published under the general editorship of A. James Arnold, with Julio Rodríguez-Luis editing the Hispanic section and J. Michael Dash the Francophone portion. *West Indian Literature* (London & Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995, paper £7.95), edited by Bruce King, is a thoroughly revised edition of this standard work from 1979 – a definitive introduction to Anglophone Caribbean writing. Alain Baudot's *Bibliographie annotée d'Édouard Glissant* (Toronto: Éditions du GREF, 1993, cloth Can\$ 96.00, US\$ 71.00) is in every way monumental – 757 pages covering 1347 texts by and about Glissant, graced by numerous illustrations. *Caribbean Writers between Orality & Writing/Les Auteurs caribéens entre l'oralité et l'écriture (Matatu 12)* (Amsterdam & Atlanta GA: Rodopi, 1994, paper, NLG 75.00), edited by Marlies Glaser & Marion Pausch, is a rich mélange of literary criticism, poetry, and interviews, mainly in English, some in French. In *Pour Aimé Césaire* (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1994, paper FF 45.00), Annie Lebrun applies her sharp tongue to some of the excesses of Martinique's *créoliste* discourse. *Temas de literatura y de cultura dominicanas* (Santo Domingo: Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo, 1993, paper n.p.), by Giovanni Di Pietro, presents a reading of some contemporary Dominican novels. In *Woorden op de Westwind: Surinaamse schrijvers buiten hun land van herkomst* (Amsterdam: In de Knipscheer, 1994, paper NLG 49.50), photographer Michel Szulc-Krzyzanowski and literary critic Michiel van Kempen capture with verve the lives of ten Suriname writers who live abroad, to complement their 1992 collaboration devoted to Suriname writers at home. *Rereading Aphra Behn: History, Theory, and Criticism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993, paper US\$ 17.95), edited by Heidi Hutner, offers various feminist readings, but is disappointing in its anachronistic treatment of Behn's seventeenth-century Suriname and slavery writings from an eighteenth- (and twentieth-) century perspective. Two works of criticism have just been returned to us by a responsible but overcommitted reviewer who had held them for more than a year without finding time to review them – *Caliban in Exile: The Outsider in Caribbean Fiction* (Westport CT: Greenwood, 1992, cloth US\$ 39.95), by Margaret Paul Joseph, which offers readings of Rhys, Lamming, and Selvon from the perspective of Commonwealth Literature, and *Recasting the World: Writing after Colonialism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 45.00, paper US\$ 14.95), edited by Jonathan White, in which a distin-



guished group of critics consider, among others, Lamming, Naipaul, and Morrison.

We've seen several new collections of folklore. *Creole Folktales* (New York: The New Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 16.95) is the lively English translation of Patrick Chamoiseau's retellings of a varied set of folktales, published in French in 1988; in our view the collection suffers from a presentation of the tales as specifically (and by implication exclusively) Martiniquan, while in fact they are widespread in the Afro-American world – there's the chiggerfoot boy of the Anglophone islands, the boy (in Suriname versions, Anansi) who "trades up" from an *acra* to a cock to a pig to a confined corpse, and other familiar plots and characters. A more explicit statement of the *créolistes'* efforts to subsume much of Caribbean (and southern United States and northeastern Brazilian) culture into their Martiniquan model is Raphaël Confiant's *Contes créoles des Amériques* (Paris: Stock, 1995, paper FF 130), which depicts *French* Creole culture as the undisputed culture of reference for Plantation America, and also contrasts Confiant's literary recuperation of the tales, including his reworking of them in French, as "properly distancing them from mere ethnographic reproduction." Considerably more pedestrian and less literary is Bert Oosterhout's rendition in Dutch of selected folktales from the Netherlands Antilles and from Creoles and Amerindians in Suriname: *Westindische sprookjes* (Rijswijk: Elmar, 1994, paper NLG 12.50). *The Jamaica Handbook of Proverbs* (Mandeville Jamaica: Island Heart Publishers, 1993, paper n.p.), by Vivien Morris-Brown, is a fine collection in Jamaican, with English glosses and explanations.

Several art and photo books have come to our attention. *Carib Art: Contemporary Art of the Caribbean. A Travelling Exhibition of Contemporary Works of Art by Artists of the Dutch, English, French and Spanish Caribbean* (Curaçao: National Commission for UNESCO of the Netherlands Antilles, 1993, paper n.p.) contains full color reproductions of nearly two hundred recent works, each by a different artist, arranged by nation/island/language. *Art of Latin America, 1900-1980* (Washington DC: Inter-American Development Bank [Johns Hopkins University Press], 1994, cloth US\$ 49.95, paper US\$ 29.95), by the late Marta Traba, is an important overview that includes the Hispanic Caribbean. Suzanne Preston Blier's *African Vodun: Art, Psychology, and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, cloth US\$ 50.00), an ambitious, object-centered analysis from a distinctly art historical perspective, focuses on Africa with only fleeting excursions into Haiti and Cuba. *Havana/La Habana* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1994, cloth US\$ 45.00), consisting of largely architectural photos by Nancy Stout and

often engaging observations by Puerto Rican architect Jorge Rigau, is at its most interesting when setting the city in the comparative context of Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. Stephen Williams's *Cuba: The Land, the History, the People, the Culture* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 27.50), though touted on the blurb as "an insider's tour of the island," provides little more than a kind of Sunday supplement "who'd-a-thought-it" depiction. Finally, *Martinique: Photographies* (Tartane, Martinique: Gondwana Editions, 1990, cloth FF 370.00) is a coffee-table book filled with aestheticized images by Eric Leroy, a French-born resident of the island, who founded Gondwana Editions in 1989.

Two new reference books: *The Beinecke Lesser Antilles Collection at Hamilton College: A Catalogue of Books, Manuscripts, Prints, Maps, and Drawings, 1521-1860* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994, cloth US\$ 150.00), compiled by Samuel J. Hough & Penelope R.O. Hough, offers careful lists and annotations for some 2000 books, manuscripts, maps, prints, drawings, and paintings. *Suriname-catalogus van de Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam, 1995, paper NLG 50.00), compiled by Kees van Doorne & Michiel van Kempen, includes unannotated entries on nearly 8000 books, articles, and manuscripts, plus more than a hundred maps.

We note a half dozen books on creolistics. In *Early Suriname Creole Texts: A Collection of 18th-century Sranan and Saramaccan Documents* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1995, paper US\$ 38.00), Jacques Arends & Matthias Perl have compiled, translated, and lightly analyzed materials that will be of special interest to students of historical linguistics. With an excellent, annotated edition, in Sranan and Dutch, of *Skrekiboekoe: Visioenen en historische overlevering van Johannes King* (Utrecht: Vakgroep Culturele Antropologie, 1995, paper NLG 35.00), Chris de Beet completes the publication of nearly all of the works of this mid-nineteenth-century Matawai evangelist and mystic. *Surinaams van de straat (Sranantongo fu strati): Een lexicon van alle-daags Surinaams* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1994, paper NLG 19.00), by Ronald Snijders, is a selective Sranan-Dutch dictionary that highlights contemporary usages. *A Buku fu Okanisi anga Ingiisi Wowtu (Aukan-English Dictionary)* (Paramaribo, Suriname: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1994, paper n.p.), edited by Louis Shanks with contributions from Evert D. Koanting & Carlo T. Velanti, is an excellent though very partial dictionary-in-progress that illustrates many of its Ndjuka entries with proverbs. In *Pale kreyòl: Manuel d'apprentissage du créole à l'usage des francophones* (Quebec: Garneau-International, 1994, paper Can\$ 29.95), Haitian Alix Renaud offers an appropriately unpretentious mini-

course on his native language. *Understanding Jamaican Patois: An Introduction to Afro-Jamaican Grammar. With a Childhood Tale by Llewelyn "Dada" Adams* (Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1991, paper J\$ 7.95), by L. Emilie Adams, a curious little book now in its fourth printing, provides an affordable, respectful, practical introduction to Jamaican speech. Serge Harpin's *La pêche en Martinique: Dictionnaire encyclopédique des technologies créoles (créole-français)* (Fort-de-France: Éditions AMEP, 1995, cloth n.p.), an ambitious, illustrated book, is, despite a certain number of ethnographic and historical errors, a useful reference work.

Three books that touch on Caribbean medicine. If Mark J. Plotkin's popular *Tales of a Shaman's Apprentice: An Ethnobotanist Searches for New Medicines in the Amazon Rain Forest* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1993, paper Can\$ 14.99, US\$ 11.95) is as inexact on plants and diseases as on its descriptions of social phenomena, reader beware! – in a few short pages, we are told, among many other such things, that Sranan is based in part on Yiddish, that Maroon women wear "only patchwork breechcloths," and that the famed eighteenth-century healer Kwasi earned his freedom by traveling to Holland. *100 plantes médicinales de la Caraïbe* (Tartane, Martinique: Gondwana Editions, 1995, cloth FF 200.00), by Jean-Louis Longuefosse, usefully systematizes pharmacological, ethnobotanical, and linguistic data regarding commonly used remedies, and comes alive with excellent color plates. As for John S.R. Golding's, *Ascent to Mona as Illustrated by A Short History of Jamaican Medical Care: With an Account of the Beginning of the Faculty of Medicine, University of the West Indies* (Kingston: Canoe Press, 1994, paper J\$ 200.00, US\$ 7.50), the title accurately reflects the contents of this modest history.

Three new books, while not devoted to the Caribbean, have significant implications for the way we think about the region. Robert J.C. Young's *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995, paper US\$ 16.95) focuses on the cultural politics of hybridity, contextualizing recent postcolonial theory within a longer historical discourse on race and warning against the uncritical adoption of this favorite term of the Victorian extreme right. Nicholas Thomas's *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 49.95, paper US\$ 16.95) provides an incisive argument that colonialism, rather than being simply a homogeneous ideology supporting capitalist expansion, deserves to be fully and minutely historicized. And *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 69.95, paper US\$ 19.95), edited by Stuart B. Schwartz, contains much historiographical wisdom as well as an excellent chapter by Peter Hulme about early encounters in the Caribbean.

Seven more books that contain chapters of interest. *Remapping Memory: The Politics of TimeSpace* (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 1994, paper US\$ 18.95), edited by Jonathan Boyarin, includes an important essay by Daniel A. Segal on postcolonial Trinidad and Tobago. *History & Memory in African-American Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 39.95), edited by Geneviève Fabre & Robert O'Meally, is largely devoted to the African diaspora within the United States but includes an essay by VÉVÉ Clark on Katherine Dunham's Caribbean choreography. A fine collection entitled *Race* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 48.00, paper US\$ 16.00), edited by Steven Gregory & Roger Sanjek and largely devoted to the United States, also includes chapters on Puerto Ricans in the mainland (by Clara Rodríguez) and on color and politics in Haiti (by Michel-Rolph Trouillot). *Coffee, Society, and Power in Latin America* (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, cloth US\$ 48.50, paper US\$ 15.95), edited by William Roseberry, Lowell Gudmundson & Mario Samper Kutschbach, has a single chapter on the Caribbean – Fernando Picó's essay on coffee and the rise of commercial agriculture during the second half of the nineteenth century. *Americas: New Interpretive Essays* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 49.95, paper US\$ 15.95), edited by Alfred Stepan and apparently tied in to a public television series, includes Caribbean chapters by Franklin W. Knight, Helen Safa, and Anthony Maingot. *Imagining Home: Class, Culture and Nationalism in the African Diaspora* (London: Verso, 1994, paper US\$ 18.95), edited by Sidney J. Lemelle & Robin D.G. Kelley, brings together papers from a 1988 conference and includes explicitly Caribbean chapters by Maryse Condé and Patrick Bellegarde-Smith, as well as others, e.g., by Paul Gilroy and Paul Buhle, that relate less directly to the region. And the just-published *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995, cloth US\$ 24.95), by Natalie Zemon Davis, includes as one of its protagonists Maria Sibylla Merian, with lively analysis of that part of her life and work devoted to Suriname.

A number of books on general Caribbean history, not otherwise reviewed in the journal, deserve mention here. *The Penguin Atlas of Diasporas* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1995, cloth US\$ 34.95), by Gérard Chaliand & Jean-Pierre Rageau, is the translation of a 1991 French work but contains only ten very inadequate pages on "the Black diaspora." In

*Histoire générale des Antilles et des Guyanes, des Précolombiens à nos jours* (Paris: Éditions Caribéennes, 1994, paper FF 190.00), Jacques Adelaide-Merlande attempts to fill the need for an accessible, general history of the Caribbean in French but provides instead a spotty, old-fashioned Eurocentric account, which each of the three reviewers we approached declined to engage. *Slavery and Beyond: The African Impact on Latin America and the Caribbean* (Wilmington DE: Scholarly Resources, 1994, cloth US\$ 40.00, paper US\$ 14.95), edited by Darién J. Davis, is a reader intended for teaching, a compilation of often interesting, previously published essays. *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994, paper US\$ 49.95), edited by Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown & Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, is a two-volume treasure trove, which includes numerous Caribbean connections – from Zora Neale Hurston to Paule Marshall to Michelle Cliff.

Books based on three series of public lectures delivered in Barbados, in 1988, 1990, and 1992 respectively, have reached us. *Emancipation IV: A Series of Lectures to Commemorate the 150th Anniversary of Emancipation* (Kingston: Canoe Press, 1993, paper J\$ 150.00), edited by Woodville Marshall, is devoted largely to Barbados. *The African-Caribbean Connection: Historical and Cultural Perspectives* (Cave Hill, Barbados: Department of History, University of the West Indies, and the National Cultural Foundation, 1990, paper n.p.), edited by Alan Gregor Copley & Alvin Thompson, includes a number of provocative chapters. And *Crossroads of Empire: The Europe-Caribbean Connection 1492-1992* (Cave Hill, Barbados: Department of History, University of the West Indies, 1994, paper n.p.), edited by Alan Copley, treats broad Caribbean themes and includes lectures by, among others, Rex Nettleford and George Lamming.

A number of reprints have come our way. A fiftieth anniversary reprint of Eric Williams's classic *Capitalism & Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 34.95, paper US\$ 14.95) boasts an excellent introduction by Colin A. Palmer, analyzing the politics that surrounded the publication of the thirty-three-year-old Williams's manuscript in the United States of the 1940s. Equally welcome is the new edition of Fernando Ortiz's great *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1995, paper US\$ 18.95), originally published in 1940, with an extensive and theoretically hip introduction by Venezuelan anthropologist Fernando Coronil. Two decades after its first publication in Barbados, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (Kingston: Canoe Press, 1994, paper J\$ 600.00, US\$ 27.00), by Richard B. Sheridan, has been reprinted with a brief and sympathetic preface by Hilary Beckles, linking the work to

*Capitalism and Slavery*, of which Sheridan became a major defender. *The Dominican Intervention* (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, paper US\$ 14.95), by Abraham F. Lowenthal, first published by Harvard University Press in 1972, has a new 3-page preface in which the author reflects on how he would, or would not, write the book differently today. *The U-Boat War in the Caribbean* (Annapolis MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 32.95), by Gaylord T.M. Kelshall, first published in Port of Spain by Paria Publishing in 1988, has been reprinted unchanged. And *Bahamian Society after Emancipation* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1994, paper n.p.), by Gail Saunders, first published in 1990, has been lightly revised. Finally, *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, paper US\$ 14.00), by Virginia E. Sánchez Korrol, is a partly updated edition of a 1983 Greenwood publication.

Miscellaneous historical works, for which we have not found reviewers. *Las Casas: In Search of the Poor of Jesus Christ* (Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 1993, cloth US\$ 34.95), by Gustavo Gutiérrez, an activist Peruvian priest/scholar, includes an analysis of Las Casas's changing ideas concerning Africans and the slave trade. *Cuba la perla de las Antillas: Actas de las I Jornadas sobre "Cuba y su Historia"* (Madrid: Doce Calles, 1994, paper n.p.), edited by Consuelo Naranjo Orovio & Tomás Mallo Gutiérrez, is an absolute miscellany of often interesting historical papers originally presented at a 1991 conference in Havana. *Het Oude Fort van Aruba: De geschiedenis van het Fort Zoutman en de Toren Willem III. Gedenkboek bij het bestaan van het tweehonderd-jarig bestaan van Fort Zoutman in 1996* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1995, cloth NLG 35.00), by J. Hartog, adds yet another title to this devoted antiquarian historian's enormous list. There are two books about "deathcamps" in the Guianas, two centuries apart: in *Conamama: Camp de la mort en Guyane pour les prêtres et les religieux en 1798* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995, paper FF 130.00), Maurice Barbotin, who is parish priest in Maripasoula, uncovers a little-known incident of Caribbean history, a precursor to later French uses of Guyane; and in *De groene hel: Een Nederlands concentratiekamp in Suriname maart 1942 tot 15 juli 1946* (Bunne, Netherlands: Servo, 1994, paper NLG 15.00), A.G. Besier continues his long-standing lobbying for greater recognition of the war-time internment of some 146 Dutch nationals, arrested as German sympathizers and transported from the East Indies to Suriname, where the survivors remained in custody well after the end of the war. Alan L. Karras's *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992,

cloth US\$ 34.50) is a careful comparative study that was recently returned to us by a reviewer who had been holding the book for a couple of years.

Several new works concern racial and ethnic politics. Engagé and up to date, *No Longer Invisible: Afro-Latin Americans Today* (London: Minority Rights Publications, 1995, cloth £29.95), edited by the Minority Rights Group, includes chapters on Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico, as well as an introduction by Pedro Pérez Sarduy & Jean Stubbs. *Black Culture and Society in Venezuela (La negritud en Venezuela)* (Caracas: Lagoven, 1994, paper n.p.), by Angelina Pollak-Eltz, is a translation of a 1991 Spanish-language, color-illustrated booklet. *Jeux d'identités: Etudes comparatives à partir de la Caraïbe* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993, paper FF 220.00), edited by Marie-José Jolivet & Diana Rey-Hulman, includes chapters on Guadeloupe, Guyane, and Suriname. And Michael George Hanchard's excellent *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil, 1945-1988* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 29.95), though about Brazil, has useful implications for Caribbeanists.

Several works of politics and economics. *Maritime Jurisdiction in the Wider Caribbean: A Handbook on National Legislation* (Hamburg: Wayasbah, 1993, paper DM 196.00), compiled and edited by Beate M.W. Ratter assisted by Anja K. Possekkel, does just what it claims, with all the requisite maps. In *Caribbean Economic Policy and South-South Co-operation: Issues Arising from the South Commission Report, The Challenge to the South* (London & Basingstoke: Macmillan Caribbean; St. Augustine Trinidad: Institute of International Relations, University of the West Indies, 1993, paper £13.95), for which we have been repeatedly unsuccessful in finding a willing reviewer, editor Ramesh F. Ramsaran presents the proceedings of a conference held in 1991 in Trinidad to discuss the South Commission's Report and its implications for Caribbean economic policy. *Modern Caribbean Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 50.00, paper US\$ 15.95), edited by Anthony Payne & Paul Sutton, has suffered the same fate, despite its pan-Caribbean perspective and lineup of well-known political scientists. *Guyana at the Crossroads* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1992, paper US\$ 16.95), edited by Dennis Watson & Christine Craig, publishes the proceedings of a 1991 conference and includes some lively debate. *Politics in Jamaica* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1994, n.p.), by Anthony J. Payne, is a revised edition of his well-known 1988 book. And Peter Morgan's *The Life and Times of Errol Barrow* (Bridgetown, Barbados: Caribbean Communications, 1994, paper n.p.), though hagio-

graphic, reveals much about Barbados during the second half of the century.

Four books relating to the Cuban revolution have not been reviewed, in most cases because a reviewer held the book for a couple of years before sending it back. The result of a 1990 conference that brought together many of the leading Cubanologists, *Cuban Studies since the Revolution* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992, cloth US\$ 39.95), edited by Damián J. Fernández, provides useful historiographic overviews. Juan M. del Aguila's *Cuba: Dilemmas of a Revolution* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 51.50, paper US\$ 18.95) is the third edition, revised, of his 1984 publication. Jan S. Adams's *A Foreign Policy in Transition: Moscow's Retreat from Central America and the Caribbean, 1985-1992* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1992, cloth US\$ 39.95, paper US\$ 14.95) analyzes shifts in Soviet foreign policy during the Gorbachev years. Finally, in *The Vogue of Revolution in Poor Countries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 19.95), Forrest D. Colburn makes an ambitious and sophisticated attempt to explain/analyze a number of recent revolutions, including those in Cuba and Grenada.

We have received two guidebooks, both for Dutch readers. *Cuba* (The Hague: ANWB, 1995, paper NLG 26.50), by François Hermans, seems competent and workmanlike, and *Suriname* (Haarlem: J.H. Gottmer, 1995, paper NLG 32.90), by Jeannette van Bodegraven, strikes us as the fullest and most perspicacious of the several recent Suriname guides on the Dutch market. Then there is an unclassifiable, peculiarly pretentious publication, part of a series on French national monuments: *Guyane: trace-mémoires du bain* (Paris: Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites, 1994, paper FF 95.00), with photos by Rodolphe Hammadi (mainly showing ruins amidst the encroaching forest) and a text by Patrick Chamoiseau that explicitly "avoids everything that has been written about the *baigne* to try instead to capture what the *traces-mémoires* murmured to us" during his brief and apparently vapid visit.

And now some miscellaneous leftovers. We should mention the publication, at long last, of C.L.R. James's iconoclastic reading of literature, politics, history, and much else in the United States ca. 1950, an important work for those interested in the great man's thought and legacy – *American Civilization* (Cambridge MA: Blackwell, 1993, cloth US\$ 49.95, paper US\$ 19.95), edited and introduced by Anna Grimshaw & Keith Hart, and with an afterword by Robert A. Hill. *Intellectuals in the Twentieth-Century Caribbean, Volume II. Unity in Variety: The Hispanic and Francophone Caribbean* (London & Basingstoke: Macmillan Caribbean, 1992, paper £13.95), edited by Alistair Hennessy, is uneven in coverage



(inevitably, the Cuban revolution casts a wide shadow), but includes a number of excellent essays. *Salarios y beneficios del trabajo (Principios y métodos para determinarlos)* (Santo Domingo: Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo, 1993, paper n.p.), by Víctor Melitón Rodríguez R., is a highly technical manual written from a statistical and public administration perspective. *Marginalization of the Black Male: Insights from the Development of the Teaching Profession* (Kingston: Canoe Press, 1994, paper J\$ 225.00, US\$ 7.50), by Jamaican sociologist Errol Miller, is the second, revised edition of this small book. *Low-Income Housing and the State in the Eastern Caribbean* (Kingston: Press University of the West Indies, 1994, paper J\$ 250.00, US\$ 10.00), by Robert B. Potter, presents an on-the-ground survey of housing conditions, with special attention to vernacular architecture. *Une certaine victoire* (Fort-de-France: Editions de l'Atelier, 1995, Paper FF 90.00), by Martiniquan architect Marc Alie, casts a sardonic eye on the neocolonialist local scene. *Ambtsuitoefening en onafhankelijke controle in de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba: Juridische en beheersmatige controle als waarborg voor deugdelijk bestuur* (Nijmegen: Ars Aequi Libri, 1994, paper NLG 35.00), a study of public administration and law in the Dutch islands, is Harold F. Munneke's Ph.D. thesis written for the Rijksuniversiteit van Leiden. In *Viva Musica Vivace* (Rotterdam: Stichting SOBER, 1994, cloth NLG 65.00), R.F. Klei presents seventy-five (for the most part) new songs, with musical transcriptions, in various Suriname languages. Four years after we requested a copy, the publisher has finally sent *Sugarball: The American Game, the Dominican Dream* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991, cloth US\$ 27.50, paper US\$ 16.00), by Alan M. Klein, which we had hoped to include in Andy Zimbalist's review article on Caribbean baseball and society (*NWIG* 68: 101-4) – a bit wooden in style, it nevertheless complements those other works, and adds to the fast-growing library of books on the sociology of Caribbean sport (cricket, basketball, and baseball). A new journal, *Caribena* – published annually since 1991 (four numbers thus far), mainly in French and on the French Antilles – is something of a miscellany on glossy paper with fine photos: historical archaeology, settlement patterns, environmental degradation, Carib mythology, and ethnopharmacology; it's available from Gondwana Editions, Anse l'Etang, Tartane, 97220 Trinité, Martinique, for FF 200 per issue.

We end with two cookbooks, both published by Ian Randle in Kingston. The color photographs in Enid Donaldson's *The Real Taste of Jamaica* (1993, paper n.p.) make you feel like eating, and the recipes make you feel like cooking, but you'll need to pick your way through it gingerly if you're worried about calories and cholesterol. Less visual and

more cerebral, Cristine Mackie's *Life and Food in the Caribbean* (1995, paper n.p.) offers a healthy mixture of recipes and foodlore that locates the dish you're cooking in terms of origins, travelers' accounts, and ethnographic context; we are hardly persuaded, however, by its speculation that coo-coo can be traced to loblolly, a European sailors' adaptation of an Amerindian corn-and-water gruel, which Bajans later thickened and refined by adding okras "and eggs"(!).

### NOTES

1. Tiger's calypso "Yaraba Shango" is transcribed and discussed in Hill 1993:252-55.
2. "It just won't do to have that dish which is a favourite of Barbadians spelled in three ways: *cookoo*, *coo-coo*, and *cou-cou*" (Allsopp 1978:185). He forgot *cuckoo* (see Lammings 1953 and Marshall 1970).
3. We are grateful to Antonio Díaz-Royo, Ligia Espinal de Hoetink (and through her Elaine Arnold), Sidney Mintz, Cruz Nazario, John and Angela Rickford (and through them Sydney A. Marshall and Ewart Thomas), and Lise Winer, who provided comparative coo-coo lore from various parts of the Caribbean in response to a preliminary draft of these paragraphs.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Theatre*. JUDY S.J. STONE. London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1994. xii + 268 pp. (Paper £14.95).

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Part of the series "Studies in West Indian Literature," *Theatre* is a comprehensive study of the history of English-speaking theater in the Caribbean from its literate beginnings to contemporary times. Swiftly reviewing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theater, which was largely British in its orientation, Judy Stone takes up her story of the making of a distinctive, West Indian regional theater with the 1930s, when black nationalist movements began to emerge. The term "West Indian" is used by Series Editor Kenneth Ramchand to distinguish this cultural area from the "French," "Dutch," or "Spanish" West Indies. Marcus Garvey and Una Marson of Jamaica, Norman Cameron of Guyana, and C.L.R. James and Errol Hill of Trinidad are the pioneers of this early period. Indeed, Hill towers over this entire theater history, for not only has he made his mark as a playwright and historian, but the performance paradigm advanced in his 1972 *The Trinidad Carnival: Mandate for a National Theatre* proposed a relationship between popular traditions and scripted drama that playwrights like Derek Walcott, Edgar White, or Michael Gilkes, just to cite a few, have explored with wonderfully imaginative results.

Stone identifies five characteristic "streams" or broad genres: realism, theater of the people, total theater, classical theater, and ritual theater. Representative of the first are Errol John, Trevor Rhone, and Alwin Bully

who in such dramas as *Moon on a Rainbow Shawl* (1958), *Smile Orange* (1972), and *Streak* (1975) captured the social as well as romantic concerns, vernacular speech patterns, and humor of the masses. By far the most patronized form, theater of the people is actor-centered, concentrating on pedestrian issues in a broadly comic, earthy idiom that is uninterested in literary durability. Given a similar emphasis on easy communication with an audience, Stone places in this stream the more contemporary "crotch" theater of Jamaica, political and African-oriented groups, and community theaters based in churches, social education, and group therapy institutions. Prominent among this group are the Trinidadian Freddie Kissoon who has written more than sixty comedies and a seventy-eight-episode radio serial; Ralph Maraj, also of Trinidad, whose plays, though not exclusively Indo-Trinidadian in content, are patronized almost entirely by people of East Indian descent; Sistren, a socio-politically oriented, Jamaican women's collective; and Pat Cumper, who seems to have inherited the mantle of serious female playwright originally worn by Una Marson. Also mentioned briefly are the two best-loved storytellers of the West Indies, Paul Keens-Douglas of Trinidad and Louise Bennett-Coverly, a.k.a. "Miss Lou," of Jamaica.

As Errol Hill had observed, festival traditions like Carnival in Trinidad, Jonkonnu in Jamaica, Cropover in Barbados, or Mashramani in Guyana offer models for total theater, which combines music, dance, archetypal mask, and the spoken word. Chief among the practitioners of this stream are Roderick Walcott and Earl Lovelace. Stone offers extended analysis of their best known plays along with a briefer set of observations about various governmental efforts to exploit this popular paradigm for political purposes. Related to this stream is ritual theater, in which playwrights like Dennis Scott, Rawle Gibbons, and Zeno Constance deploy such social rituals as the nine-night wake, stickfighting, and children's games either as plot or structuring device in order to fashion a theater that is more sophisticated and idiosyncratic in its thematics and visual semiotics than total theater, yet attempts to speak to the majority of the people. Seen as a category of one, Nobel Prize-winner Derek Walcott is the exemplar of classical theater, which seeks to articulate a postcolonial Caribbean identity by confronting Western traditions. Because Stone was a member of Walcott's Workshop in 1968-73, this chapter is particularly strong in tracing some of the extensive revisions and production circumstances that shaped his scripts.

Wisely, Judy Stone has not forgotten those who have emigrated but nonetheless remained vitally concerned with the countries of their birth. Thus, her chapter on Black British Theatre includes solid discussions of the

dramas of Mustapha Matura; Edgar White, who also achieved several significant American productions during the 1960s Black Arts movement; and Caryl Phillips, who Stone acknowledges would disavow the label of black British writer. The author concludes her impressively researched text with an embarrassingly brief discussion of which stream is likely to characterize West Indian theater in the future. The materiality of theater-making is not discussed even though as a long-time actress, director, and theater reviewer, Stone is presumably well acquainted with the kinds of infra-structural resources – adequate salaries and material supplies, engaged audiences and critical response, and easy circulation of scripts – that are critical to the survival of any artistic movement. Nor does she engage the irony of the fact that the stream most patronized by West Indians is also the least literate, a value she clearly wants to privilege.

Nonetheless, Judy Stone is to be commended for having authored such an extensive overview. This is a pioneering text destined to occupy a central position in the study of Caribbean theater. Its eighty-page bibliography of playscripts, reviews, related novels, and poetry extends the theater scholarship of Errol Hill and the Walcott research of Irma Goldstraw. Though we may wish at times for more in-depth analysis and attention to theoretical issues, scholars are likely to return to *Theatre* again and again as an invaluable sourcebook.

*The Jamaican Stage, 1655-1900: Profile of a Colonial Theatre.* ERROL HILL. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992. xiv + 346 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

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With *The Jamaica Stage, 1655-1900*, Errol Hill makes one of the most valuable contributions to theater scholarship in the Caribbean of the past decade. No other source covers the history of colonial theater inside an Anglophone Caribbean society with the same completeness. *The Jamaican Stage* joins Robert Cornevin's survey of Haitian theater (1973), Nilda González's bibliographic record of theatrical production in Puerto Rico (1979), Rine Leal's history of Cuban theater (1980), and the Danilo Ginebra *et al.* "panorama" of the colonial development of Dominican

theater (1984), to complete the circle of early theatrical development in the Greater Antilles. Yet it is distinguished even within this group by the richness of contemporaneous documentation and, especially, Hill's use of newspaper criticism and commentary.

*The Jamaican Stage* first studies the formal or European colonial theater, performed for the mainly white and free-colored elites of Jamaican society, and then reconstructs the parallel and simultaneous popular African-Caribbean heritage of traditions preserved and/or syncretically developed and enriched as forms of resistance and cultural expression by the majority population of enslaved African plantation workers. This distinction, not as clearly marked in other studies – in some, ignored almost entirely – militates against making the emergence of an independent Caribbean theater appear to be the seamless evolution of the earlier colonial European theater. Issues of race and empire, at times blunted in other studies, remain central to Hill's historiography. The book's third section raises the concerns of Hill's earlier work on the development in the twentieth century of national theaters in the Caribbean (1972). The shift of focus in this final section reflects methodological shortcomings which make it less germane than it might have been to the more extensively researched and argued earlier sections constituting the body of the work.

Yet, in spite of the richness of the historical context and the impressive documentation, *The Jamaican Stage* reads with difficulty, even for the specialist. The problem appears to be organizational. The attempt to write three books in one – one formal-colonial, another Afro-Caribbean, and a third on national-regional theaters – would perhaps be more readable, for the non-specialist and specialist alike, if the order of its three sections were inverted or, perhaps even more appropriately, if they were broken apart and presented as interrelated but separate volumes. The impression given is that the epilogue on more contemporary theater is the book Hill most wanted to write. However, as a final rather than introductory and/or theoretical essay, it suffers more than the other two sections. The first (Chapters 2-8, roughly two-thirds of the entire book), on the European colonial theater in Jamaica, reflects the most successful scholarship because it draws on secure documentary evidence. It is the most complete but also the most trying section of the book. This is especially surprising given its often remarkably concise and informative writing – for example, in the brief but significant discussion of the Morant Bay Uprising and its social and theatrical consequences.

The characters and events of this historical pageant are often larger than life and should be interesting in and of themselves: late eighteenth-century thespians such as David Douglass, Lewis Hallam, Sr., and Lewis Hallam, Jr.,

of the American Company heroically confronted illness, hurricanes, the Revolutionary War, and fickle audiences; famous visitors to Jamaica such as Monk Lewis, Lady Nugent, and George Bernard Shaw (with whom the book begins) emitted enlivened critical comments; Jamaican-born professionals such as Frances Barnet Woollery, John Anderson Castello, the West Indian Roscius, the members of the Cordova family, and Morton Tavares became known in England, the United States, and internationally; records from 1682 on of theater buildings in Spanish Town and Montego Bay and in Kingston, moving from Harbour Street to the Parade and the building of the Theatre Royal, the New Theatre Royal, and the Ward Theater (1907), are discussed in detail; the presumed successful 1733 production of *The Beggar's Opera* took place only five years after the London premiere; post-emancipation theater performances by black groups such as the Ethiopian Amateur Society and the Numidian Amateur Association began in the late 1840s; John Fawcett's popular melodrama about a runaway slave, *Obi; or, Three Fingered Jack* (1800), received only one performance in Jamaica and that not until 1862; minstrelsy from the United States arrived in Jamaica in 1865; the trials, tribulations, and intrigues of groups such as the Holland Company and its leading actress Effie Johns chronicle the life of nineteenth-century touring companies; original texts such as the playlet *A West Indian Scene* (1824-25), which discusses the treatment of slaves, the staging in 1853 of Jamaican plays by Charles Shanahan, and *In Stormy Days, or, The Vow that Saved Jamaica* – along with Shanahan's *The Spanish Warrior*, probably the best of Jamaican drama in the nineteenth century – written by nuns and performed in 1897 by their female high school students, assume their rightful place as examples of native dramaturgy; the work of the popular black writer and performer Henry G. Murray, and to a lesser degree, his sons Andrew and William, who wrote in the vernacular and included Anansi tales, proverbs, and black working-class characters, also receives well-deserved attention; and finally, the performance by Cuban refugees of the rousing *A las armas*, on the outbreak of the Second War of Cuban Independence, serves as an example of Caribbean solidarity.

Personages and events such as these should make compelling reading. That they do not in *The Jamaican Stage* seems a result of excellent research that has not been transformed successfully into a memorable text. The narrative often seesaws over 200 years of theater history without giving readers a firm historical footing. The structure becomes repetitive: first, physical theaters, then productions and companies, and then original texts, but always recrossing the historical terrain of the previous section. The breadth of the information tends to dilute the importance of the true



gems of original theatrical creation which should probably be the central focus, and it forces onto readers the construction of a reasonable narrative structure on which to hang and order the materials.

Alongside the rush of documentation on the formal colonial theater between the late seventeenth and early twentieth centuries, the popular music, dance, festival, and storytelling traditions of the Afro-Jamaican population before and after emancipation seem pale by comparison. The thoroughness of the colonial section creates the expectation of similar documentation and specificity in the Afro-Caribbean section. The descriptions of Jonkonnu, tea meetings, "bruckins," and the performance elements inherent in the possession rituals of Myalism and Afro-Christian sects tend to be generalized and to summarize existing studies rather than reveal new sources. Perhaps the most unique contribution made in the latter regard is Hill's documentation of the popularity in Jamaica of North American entertainment forms such as minstrelsy and the medicine show. Admittedly, the Afro-Caribbean tradition, which is generally not scribal and apparently has left no organized written record, would prove more difficult to research, but the interests of the work would perhaps have been better served if more attention had been devoted to the rediscovery of the forms of dramatic expression of the majority population. Errol Hill is a playwright and theater historian and not an anthropologist, and to expect this section to be as complete and compelling as Fernando Ortiz's *Los bailes y el teatro de los negros en el folklore de Cuba* (1951) or Roger D. Abrahams's *The Man-of-Words in the West Indies: Performance and the Emergence of Creole Culture* (1983) may seem overly demanding. Such a treatment of popular dramatic and theatrical expression in Jamaica and/or the rest of the Anglophone Caribbean remains to be written.

The purpose of Hill's "Epilogue: A Caribbean Perspective" is well captured in the question, "How to define the identity of Caribbean peoples?" and its further clarification:

That is the quest that has been going on with increasing urgency and passion. It is a search in which the arts – the finest expression of a people's aspirations and sense of belonging – become embroiled and are subject to intense scrutiny and debate. And the theatre, as most public and lively of the arts, finds itself at the centre of attention whenever these issues are disputed. (p. 273)

The formulation here of the social function of art may be politically correct – this is what the art or theater historian is supposed to say – but it lacks substantial supporting evidence.

Developing arguments made in *The Trinidad Carnival* (1972) and by

critics such as Kole Omotoso (1982), Hill elaborates a universalist "ritual origins" notion to "explore the nature of theatre itself" (p. 274). The Aristotelian terminology and the tendency to characterize theater as the secularization of religious cult worship – all of which throw the discussion of art and art history and its relation to popular cultural expressions into a theoretical quagmire heavily dependent on the "evolution" of complex from simpler organisms, or in cultural terms, of the "privileged" formal or esthetic from the less consciously conceived popular, folkloric, or ritualistic expression. These issues, so strongly mediated by factors of race, gender, class, and empire (literally, *who* is writing history), need a far more thorough revision than the epilogue of *The Jamaican Stage* permits. Thus, in its current form, much of the epilogue remains extraneous to the concrete issue at hand: a reasonable narrative of the parallel development and inter-sections of the colonial European theater and popular dramatic expression of the majority Afro-Jamaican population.

The availability of published information on Anglophone Caribbean theater has vastly improved in the past three years. The richness of documentation in *The Jamaican Stage* makes a major contribution to understanding the function of formal theater in providing Jamaica's colonial elite with an image of themselves as representatives of European culture and "civilization," in spite of the distance separating them. Judy S.J. Stone's *Theatre* (1994) explores the twentieth-century West Indian theater on the basis of information established by Hill, and Hill's coedited volume (Banham, Hill, and Woodyard 1994) further elaborates the connections between African, transCaribbean and European dramatic forms. The newest addition to this impressive group is Bruce King's 1995 study, *Derek Walcott and West Indian Drama*. Errol Hill is in large measure responsible for establishing scholarship in theater and drama, too long the forgotten stepchildren of West Indian literature, in the Anglophone Caribbean. *The Jamaican Stage, 1655-1900* lays the foundation upon which much future work can begin to build.

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V.S. Naipaul. BRUCE KING. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. viii + 170 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

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V.S. Naipaul is probably one of the most canonized of contemporary writers in the English language today, but not everyone would agree that his current market/literary success is indicative of the universal popularity of writers from the Third World. In fact, because of the controversial nature of his claims about many formerly colonized countries, including his native Trinidad, the most heatedly discussed aspect of Naipaul's works is just how much he belongs to the West rather than to the Third World. Bruce King's *V.S. Naipaul*, one among the more recent additions to the growing output on Naipaul's oeuvre, seeks to read Naipaul as belonging neither to one space nor to the other, and seems to agree with the writer's portrayal of himself as "a former colonial who has become a homeless cosmopolitan." Accepting Naipaul's representation of unease in both these positions, King commends the "moral honesty in his work [coming from] a refusal to sentimentalize England or the former colonies" (p. 2). It is claims

such as these that reveal both the strengths and the weaknesses in King's own discussion of Naipaul's work.

On the one hand, too much has been made of Naipaul's essential national status and his betrayal of the revolutionary politics of the Third World. Critiques of his work operating from an assumption of the inevitable radicalization of postcolonial writers fail to take into account the fact that the class position of most of these writers is determined through colonial education and middle-class mobility. The expectation of a natural sympathy for working-class agendas or anti-colonial politics totalizes the Third World into an always allegorized oppositional relationship with the Western metropolises. King traces with more caution Naipaul's specific background as an East Indian Brahmin in Trinidad, growing up in the racially-riven colonial world of the West Indies, initially struggling in England, and eventually making it to the status he enjoys now. King departs from the usual tradition of ascribing Naipaul's politics of disillusion to his privileged background, instead foregrounding Naipaul's minority status as a Trinidadian Indian in British-dominated and later in the black nationalist-controlled politics of the island.

On the other hand, simply to assert Naipaul's homogeneous cynicism as somehow more praiseworthy because of its balanced attitude toward all the spaces and histories he critiques is rather disingenuous. King argues, for instance, that *A House for Mr. Biswas* develops "the central vision" of Naipaul's perceived reality: "the world is without purpose, violent, dangerous; in the natural world life is fearful, comfortless, irrational and brutal" (p. 37). Broadly, Naipaul's work could be so categorized, but then King goes on to propose a sense of opposition to this world view in the modernist thrust of the writer's work. Hence Naipaul's writing would be one way of introducing order into a disordered, hostile world. Another way, as it turns out, is his attitude toward empire. "Imperialism can even be desirable if it brings order, peace, security and knowledge and raises people to a larger, more tolerant view of the world beyond their petty local conflicts and limited vision," says King (p. 10). King seems to agree with Naipaul's view. The consensus is made evident in remarks about "losers" who shriek about victimization instead of relying on sharp thinking and self-help (p. 15) and an emphasis on how well Naipaul fits into the Western canon (as in the long and not always appropriate comparison of *A House for Mr. Biswas* and *King Lear*). At the same time King believes that Naipaul's dislike of the Muslim conquerors and approval of the British imperialists in *India: A Million Mutinies Now* offers proof of his "balanced" view that (all) colonialism is not wholly to be condemned. The modernizing impulse of colonial capital is thus given credit without an equal

emphasis on the seamy side of modernity for those who were colonized. The argument that one form of colonialism was not as bad as another misses the boat when it comes to acknowledging that much of the disorder was also a consequence of colonization, as Chinua Achebe portrays in *Things Fall Apart*.

While Naipaul is located within the politics of decolonization, he is also reclaimed as a modernist who continues rather than disrupts the traditions of writers such as T.S. Eliot and James Joyce. In fact, the book is published in the Modern Novelists series of monographs, as the General Editor Norman Page states, of novelists immediately preceding and following 1914, although the era is broadly rather than specifically configured. Here Naipaul is in the company of a number of canonical and/or popular writers ranging from Saul Bellow to Paul Scott (forthcoming), though most of them are within the Western modernist rather than the postcolonial tradition.

This is identified as a "user-friendly book" on the front flap of the colorful cover, which depicts (interestingly enough, given Naipaul's location in the Western modernist canon) an antique Chola bronze figure from India. The chapters are arranged chronologically, and bear the titles of most of Naipaul's more significant works. Due to King's desire to recuperate the "detailed criticism [that] is out of fashion at present" (p. 19), there is a stress on the literary aspect of the texts under study in order to find continuity in themes, structures, and techniques. The discussions, written in lucid prose, are not always balanced (the chapter on *A House for Mr. Biswas* and *The Middle Passage*, for example, devotes most of its attention to the former text, leaving only a couple of pages to the latter), but this is perhaps understandable given the range of works covered. A short, selected bibliography is provided at the end, along with two appendices specifically written to defend Naipaul's apparent prejudice against black people or the Third World by providing information on the bitterness of racialized politics (black against Indian) in Trinidad.

While this is a useful text for introductory purposes and for those interested in the practice of traditional literary analysis, readers wanting a strongly theorized critique of Naipaul's works will not find it here.

*The Rhetorical Uses of the Authorizing Figure: Fidel Castro and José Martí.* DONALD E. RICE. Westport CT: Praeger, 1992. xviii + 163 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95).

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Few figures in Latin American history have been the subject of such numerous and polemical exegeses as José Martí. Although scorned by many during his lifetime as "*cubano póstumo*," as someone whose efforts to organize a second war of independence in Cuba were considered motivated by a misplaced "epic nostalgia," since he had not participated in the first insurrection of 1868 and was ignored by most Cubans during the years following his death in 1895, José Martí has come to symbolize throughout the twentieth century issues of national definition among Cubans of the most disparate political persuasions. The discursive and institutional processes through which this has come to be still remain to be studied. So far, only literary scholar Enrico Mario Santí, in his important essay "José Martí and the Cuban Revolution," has proposed meaningful research guidelines and hypotheses in that direction. Any work attempting to account in a rigorous way for the complex reinscription of José Martí within the cultural and political discourse of the Cuban Revolution needs to thoroughly interrogate the tradition that has made possible the use of Martí as a legitimizing, almost sacred, instrument.

The title of Donald Rice's book promised to shed light on some of these questions, clarifying how Martí has been used in the speeches of Fidel Castro in order to legitimize revolutionary projects and policies. Through a methodological approach that Rice vaguely describes as "textual analysis" (p. 36), the core chapters of the book aspire to examine how Martí has been used for the purpose of unifying and defining the goals of the revolutionary movement in the years prior to its triumph (Chapter 3) and as a way of sanctioning controversial actions and political interpretations once in power (Chapter 4), and legitimizing the long-term goals of the revolution when revolutionary fervor had dimmed (Chapter 5). The discussion of these issues is preceded by a succinct sketch of some theories of authority – Max Weber, Talcott Parsons, Hanna Arendt, and what Rice calls "socialist views" of authority, which mainly consist of brief citations from Perry Anderson and Tony Smith (Chapter 1). Unfortunately, this theoretical overview does not crystallize into a well-articulated and much

needed reflection on the specification of political authority in contradictorily or unevenly modern societies such as Cuba.

Also preceding the core analytical chapters on the speeches of Fidel Castro is a chapter addressing the meaning of the figure of Martí in Cuba (Chapter 2). Although this chapter asks key questions such as "Why has Martí occupied such an important role in Cuban History?" and "What was it about the man and his ideas that allowed for and perhaps encouraged the subsequent multiple uses of his authorizing presence?" (p. 17), it falls short of providing a satisfactory answer. The chapter starts with a brief presentation of a few facts about Martí's life, and then moves into an exploration of what Rice understands to be recurrent themes and practices in Martí's political life as well as in some of his writings. These themes and practices are primarily organized around general issues of nationalism and Latin American unity. Without addressing the many discursive and institutional operations that have placed Martí at the center of Cuba's cultural and political imagination throughout the twentieth century, the chapter concludes with a summary of three current views on Martí – those of Carlos Ripoll, Enrico Mario Santí, and John Kirk.

The issues raised by Rice in this second chapter are fundamental for his subject, but the way in which he approaches them restricts the terms of his analysis throughout the book. In Chapter 2, Rice problematically suggests that the basic explanation for the role Martí has played in Cuban history should be found in Martí himself, in his life and ideas, especially in his desire for Latin American unity and his nationalism. Rice's explanation concentrates on what he deems to be the foundational powers of Martí's political thematics. This approach prevents him from posing other sorts of questions, as well as undertaking more painstaking kinds of historical, cultural, and philosophical research. What are the rhetorical (and historiographical) paradigms deployed in and around Martí, and how have these been rearticulated within Castro's rhetoric and within the philosophy of history generated under the Revolution? What has been the history of the "readings" and interpretations of Martí that conditioned these rearticulations, and how do those hermeneutic practices relate to the many debates and processes of Cuban national definition during the twentieth century, only one of which is the 1959 Revolution? What are the cultural bases to explain the fact that modern political thought, especially in its nationalist expression, has required the figuration of "secular saints" as foundations for nation-state projects? Without minimal attention to these issues, any study aiming to understand the place of Martí within the rhetoric of the Revolution can only result in a futile and ahistorical exercise of cross-checking quotations, or in an even more sterile and equally ahis-

torical attempt to define the ultimate truth of what Martí could have wanted for Cuba's present, a project unavoidably susceptible to political manipulation. Donald Rice's book, unfortunately, does not avoid any of these pitfalls.

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*Cuban Art and National Identity: The Vanguardia Painters, 1927-1950.* JUAN A. MARTÍNEZ. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994. xiv + 189 pp. (Cloth US\$ 34.95)

*New Art of Cuba.* LUIS CAMNITZER. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994. xxx + 400 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00, Paper US\$ 24.95).

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The contrast between these two recent books on Cuban art is characteristic of Latin American intellectual history: one follows the nationalist tradition and the other emulates the Marxist revolutionary discourse. While Juan A. Martínez searches for national identity in the Cuban masters of the first half of the twentieth century, Luis Camnitzer fuses art and revolution in the works of Cuba's 1980 generation.

Martínez's book on Cuban painters is essential to anyone interested in Cuban cultural history and, particularly, in the art of the first generation of Cuban artists to reach maturity after independence in 1902, an avant-garde generation eager to define a national culture. Referring to them as *la vanguardia*, Martínez groups Jorge Arche, Eduardo Abela, Carlos Enríquez, Arístides Fernández, Antonio Gattorno, Wifredo Lam, Víctor Manuel, Amelia Peláez del Casal, Marcelo Pogolotti, Fidelio Ponce, and Domingo Ravenet, all born between 1891 and 1905. Three chapters on the *vanguardia's* origins, the social context, and the search for cultural identity are



followed by a fourth that deals with the individual characteristics of seven of the leading artists.

Martínez does not challenge existing criticism nor does he engage in any controversial analysis; rather, he supports all statements with an extensive bibliography, a typical outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation. He provides the first English-language compendium of documentation on the *vanguardia*, in a clear, non-technical prose accessible to a general readership. He emphasizes continuity in Cuban art, tracing its roots to Havana's San Alejandro School, founded in 1818, where French directors had been the norm. Most of the young painters of the 1920s were trained in this school. When the European art scene shed the traditional canon after the First World War, the Cuban manifestations carried a search for national identity: the tropical flora, Afro-Cuban culture, the *guajiro* (country dweller), and colonial architecture were among elements associated with *lo cubano* in paintings that were moving with the times in terms of their technique.

While Martínez deals with a modernist generation claiming to be the first Cuban one, Luis Camnitzer focuses on the first generation to be born after the Revolution of 1959 and concentrates on artists exhibiting their work inside Cuba between 1981 and 1990. Claiming to be "particularly resentful of the constraints of historical narrative" (p. xxix), yet perceiving Cuba to have been "subject[ed] to unrestricted colonizing influences during the past" (p. xxx), Camnitzer pays little attention (pp. 100-8) to Cuba's cultural heritage and refers to it as an "unrejected past" that combined with the "informed present" to produce the art of the 1980s. This position is unfortunate and results in omissions. If devoting only a few pages to the Cuban masters might explain the absence from this text of Cundo Bermúdez, Mario Carreño, and José Mijares, among others, whose ideological sin was choosing not to join the Unión de Artistas y Escritores de Cuba (UNEAC), there is no excuse for the omission of former revolutionary figures such as Félix Beltrán and Eduardo Heras León, both of whom contributed significantly to the revolution's cultural agenda.

Stating that the Cuban regime has supported the "healthy policy" of artistic freedom, Camnitzer fails to examine the exodus of Cuban visual artists throughout the Castro period; after devoting eight pages to Arturo Cuenca, he relegates to an endnote (note 4, p. 357) this artist's "change of heart about Cuba" when he sought political asylum in 1991. Furthermore, some of the other artists Camnitzer treats in his detailed account have since chosen exile, such as Rogelio López Marín (Gory) and Gustavo Acosta Pérez. During a recent solo exhibition in Miami, Acosta was interviewed by critic A. Álvarez Bravo:

It is possible that two years ago my work needed to be some kind of compromise ... Now I'm fully in charge ... [my recent painting] *Hunt* is concerned with *balseros*, and with men who hunt down men on the sea. (*El Nuevo Herald*, 25 January 1995: 1E, 3E)

There is no room in *New Art of Cuba* for understanding Acosta's statements. To Camnitzer, a sign proclaiming "ARTE O MUERTE, VENCEREMOS" embodies the liberating slogan of new artists trained by the revolutionary regime. To this reviewer, the word play (alluding to Fidel Castro's "PATRIA O MUERTE, VENCEREMOS") carries a defiant message from those who tread on a drawing of Che to show lack of breathing (not wall) space or place an almsgiving plate before a painting entitled *Reviva la Revo* (pp. 181-84). Ultimately, Camnitzer presents the issue of artistic freedom and revolution through the filter of the utopian goals of the 1960s which have so pervaded Latin American artistic circles. (An emotional moment is his reminiscence of Cuba's dismissal from the Organization of American States in 1962 and the caravan of Cuban delegates leaving his native Uruguay.) Had the author avoided being entrapped by his partisan views, he would have been able to analyze successfully the activities of the forty young Cuban artists he chose to portray. Most importantly, he would have been able to assess how revolutionary ideology has shaped Cuban art and how this art modifies ideology.

*On the Mall: Presenting Maroon Tradition-Bearers at the 1992 Festival of American Folklife.* RICHARD & SALLY PRICE. Bloomington: Folklore Institute, Indiana University, 1994. xi + 123 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.00)

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In the sweltering Washington high summer of 1992, on the Mall flanked by the United States Congress, the George Washington Monument, and the national museum complex housing treasures, heirlooms, and booty, the Festival of American Folklife (FAF) sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution hosted a gathering of Maroon "tradition-bearers" including Saramaka and Ndjuka from Suriname, Aluku from French Guiana, Jamaican Maroons, Black Seminoles from Texas and Mexico, Palenqueros from Colombia, and others. The Prices' forte, and this should come as a surprise to very few, are the Maroons of Suriname – specifically the Saramaka –

and they were hired to act as “presenters” or cultural mediators between the Maroons and the public festival goers who came to see them.

From the outset the Prices kept a diary of their personal experiences, reflections, and ethnography and deliberately set out to write a text of the more-or-less ten-day event. As with *Equatoria* (1992) the authors imaginatively weave bits of literature from nineteenth-century Barnum and Bailey sources, museum staff briefing booklets, and anthropological theory on displaying the “other” in an effort to “problematize” what at worst can be a wedding of anthropology and show biz, or what should be a mature interaction “designed to increase cross-cultural understanding and appreciation” (p. 11).

The FAF scholar-organizers were profoundly aware of the limitations and cultural distortions of the “concert-like” displays of yesteryear and aimed for a field that actively encouraged interplay between performers and visitors in what the staff called “frames,” or situation-specific events. It is clear the Prices have respect for the Smithsonian staff, who were sensitive to the risk of “objectification and of reproducing negative stereotypes” (p. 111). The Prices supported this initiative while being explicit that they intended to critique aspects of the festival and to go on to write a book about it – partly at the urging of Roger Abrahams who encouraged them so they could “write about it [the festival] reflexively and thus contribute to its betterment” (p. 18).

Anyone who has organized a conference and put emotional and physical energy into it realizes the logistical nightmare of coordinating groups of people, getting them fed, sheltered, and watered before the headier intellectual enterprises can unfold. It is not unusual that such coordinators assume proprietorial control and micro-manage each day’s unfolding events; I suspect that the last thing one wants to hear is honest criticism or, heaven forbid, carping from “outsiders.” From time to time disagreements – sometimes testy but mostly not – about both form and substance broke out between FAF staff and the Prices, who positioned themselves as spokespersons and cultural solicitors for the Saramaka. Advice rendered by the two anthropologists touched a number of subjects, from the arcane to the cerebral but all important: the Saramaka like piles of rice and they like to eat it with spoons – neither ever appeared. There were accusations by staff that the Prices were censoring Saramaka responses and, at times, the husband-wife team were put in the position of confronting a corporate defensiveness against their criticisms. A serious issue exercised the Maroons when they discovered that for some obscure U.S. limitation they would be paid less for each daily performance than U.S.-based performers. In one exchange, which touches the intellectual core of the book, the an-

thropologists were unwilling to play roles as actors “in a parodic facsimile of the ethnographic art” (p. 36). And Saramaka, FAF staff, and Prices alike didn’t particularly care for Mom and Pop from Kansas City gawking at them while they ate lunch, thinking the performers while in their repose were in fact performing – or maybe not realizing the difference.

When all is said and done, after the opening chapter on nineteenth-century exotic exhibitions, after problematizing the experience, after assuaging the *granmans*’ bruised egos for not being treated with sufficient pomp and decorum – after all of these weighty things, it seems to me that the Prices executed the duties of two responsible applied anthropologists, trouble-shooting the system just as though they had received a consultancy contract to rationalize the assembly line at a General Motors factory. Step One: talk to the workers on the plant floor. (I know, I know, GM workers are not post-colonial, oppressed, et cetera.) The FAF did a really good job and their obsession with detail and badgering presenters to tell performers to just “act naturally” can be written off more as conference anxiety than conceptual insensitivity. In this respect, the Prices have written an operational manual full of reflexive discourse and chunks of the thoughts of others sprinkled throughout the text in what are by turns witty, insensitive, downright racist, or insightful quotes – some of which will make the reader cringe with shame. This is an important book as it gives a backstage view of a staged encounter between Maroons of the Suriname rainforest and a generally urban, white, middle-class audience mediated by two very accomplished anthropologists.

Finally, it’s the Maroons who come off really well. They work hard and get the job done with humor and pluck. They intuitively know when to slow down and moderate around sensitive aspects of their culture and not to caricature themselves. Working all day in 100 degree weather, asked the same questions over and over again (“What language do you speak?”), they can get fed up with good reason, as when a technician was adjusting a tube microphone in front of Ms. Kayanasii and she irritably told Sally “Tell that man to get his penis out of my mouth” (p. 89).

One small criticism about an otherwise very nice piece of work. There seems to be a slightly tinny, self-righteous ring about the book. Everybody “identifies” with “their” people, but we can assume the Prices are past that phase of anthropological self-congratulation. From time to time, just like in *Equatoria*, names are dropped, almost a sort of “gotcha” attack on people who presumably do not measure up. District Commissioner Libretto (of the district where the Saramaka reside), for example, gets a few ad hominem whacks for some of his gambits. This rattled me a bit as a certain Mr. Awagi’s name was mentioned several times throughout the text

without rebuke and that old vaudevillian has been culturally sponging off his fellow Maroons for years. Ah well, art and culture are commodities whether you like it or not, and both the Prices and the Festival of American Folklife are to be congratulated for producing a fine product.

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*Das Exil der Götter: Geschichte und Vorstellungswelt einer afrokubanischen Religion*. STEPHAN PALMIÉ. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1991. vii + 520 pp. (Paper DM 113.00)

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This volume is based on a German doctoral dissertation dealing with santería or regla ocha in Miami, where the author conducted extensive fieldwork. What makes this book particularly interesting is the double (or triple) distance of the author to his materials: A German scholar studying displaced Cubans in an American setting. The Cubans and Cuban-Americans are seen as descendants of Africans and Spaniards. The work required two field languages: English and Spanish (and, at times, a mixture of the two) as well as some acquaintance with the ritual vocabulary of Lucumí, that is, Yoruba as used by santeros.

The exile of the gods is a double one: from Africa to Cuba and from Cuba to Florida. The emphasis is on the religion of the Yoruba and their neighbors, brought to Cuba, mostly by the slave trade, during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Lesser attention is given to the religious practices of other groups, notably Bantus, as integrated into forms of santería. A second exile occurred with the arrival of the adepts and their gods in the United States, beginning in 1959, and then others in a new wave with the Mariel boat lift.

The subtitle sets out the aim of the book clearly: the first half is devoted to a lengthy review of the literature, mostly in Spanish and English, of the slave trade and the migrations of Africans to Cuba, and the record of their

beliefs and religious practices as reflected in this history. The aim here is to present the history of the origin and development of the religion. The second half discusses the belief system of the religion known as *santería*, primarily as recorded by the author in his field research. The aim here is to present the worldview of the adepts from their words and ritual behavior, as well as from the available literature. In both the historical and ethnographic sections, Palmié seeks to fill gaps he perceives in the existing literature, but there is no indication that he consulted original historical sources. He is highly critical of the concept of syncretism, though he himself finds it necessary to use it. The relationship between *oricha* of the Yoruba and the Catholic saints is discussed at some length, but adds little that is new. Palmié finds it difficult to deal with various explanations of the relationship, be they conceptional, mythical, political, or iconographic. His informants seem not to be troubled by his difficulties, however. The ethnohistorical approach of Herskovits and others is rejected as "speculative." Importantly, Palmié notes changes that have occurred in this religion in the United States. As a result of various contacts, elements of other traditions have been incorporated, so as to constitute, to some degree, a re-Africanization and particularly a re-Yorubaization, of *santería*. Here, the author is particularly interested in the "Yoruba American Movement" founded by Gregory King. Consequently, observations made in Cuba before 1959 become points on a historical trajectory, not accounts of current beliefs and practices. Information on *santería* as it has developed in Cuba in the past thirty-five years would provide an interesting comparative perspective here.

In the second half of the book, Palmié presents the results of his field research. It is striking to note that little research has been conducted on the Afro-Cuban religions in this country. Palmié notes the contributions of Weidman, Sandoval, and others associated with the Miami Health Ecology Project, but is critical of the interpretation which sees the recourse of immigrants to the religion in functionalist terms, as a strategy for dealing with the stresses of acculturation. Indeed, he rejects all functionalist approaches. Palmié himself, while rendering an interesting account, gives little indication of an analytic or theoretical approach. In his ethnography, he focuses on presenting a theology of *santería*, giving particular attention to the cult of the dead, where the influence of Kardecist spiritualism is most clearly felt. Another factor in change is the need felt by some *santeros* to write accounts of their religions, with some attempts at offering a systematized, formal theology. Although he avoids considerations of social structure, Palmié does note that the leaders of *santería* in the first wave of migrants were largely white as was much of their clientele, and that con-

flicts over authenticity and claims of leadership arose with the arrival of larger numbers of Afro-Cuban migrants with the Mariel boat lift. At the same time, he also notes the attractiveness of the religion for numbers of non-Cubans in the Miami area.

The book is rich in descriptive detail, and offers a picture of a dynamic religion with a complex representation of the world. It steers clear of interpretation by the author. Regrettably, the book lacks an index.

*Modernity, an Ethnographic Approach: Dualism and Mass Consumption in Trinidad.* DANIEL MILLER. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1994. 340 pp. (Cloth £ 39.95, Paper £ 14.95)

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Daniel Miller's ambitious title, *Modernity, an Ethnographic Approach: Dualism and Mass Consumption in Trinidad*, points at once to his attempt to cover a mammoth and fascinating terrain – theoretically (modernity and its expression through duality), empirically (mass consumption practices and local identities), and methodologically (ethnography of popular culture as a medium of modernity). In this unique combination of approaches, he charts a new course for Caribbean studies and offers an enticing addition as well to the rapidly expanding literature theorizing the global conditions of (post)modernity.

This new book promises to answer many of the calls within anthropology and cultural studies for rich ethnography to fill out the proliferation of seductive but thin descriptions of globalization and transnational flows of capital, labor, media/information, and culture. Miller sets out to demonstrate that, contrary to persistent and widespread cultural imperialism arguments in which the "Third World" is construed as a single passive recipient of the North's ever intensifying ambus of cultural products, modernity and mass consumption are not enacted in a uniform manner, nor do they lead to cultural mystification and homogenization. In fact, according to Miller, it is precisely through imported goods and their distinctive bifurcation in the local context that "traditional" institutions reconstitute themselves and local culture (Trinidadianess) is increasingly and distinctively articulated.

Miller's discussion of Trinidadian modernity and mass consumption revolves around a central duality which, he argues, constitutes the central hinge of moral and experiential consciousness, and which he relates to Trinidad's two primary ritual celebrations, Carnival and Christmas. At the same moment when many social theorists are problematizing or rejecting dualities (traditional/modern, third/first worlds, private/public spheres), he has transposed the time-space compression of contemporary postmodern analysis (Harvey 1989) onto the familiar and contested dualism of Caribbean studies, Peter Wilson's (1973) reputation and respectability, calling his twist "transience" and "transcendence." Carnival, therefore, becomes the paradigmatic arena of transience (bacchanal, liming, wining, spontaneity, individual distinctive styles, outside, street-based activity) and Christmas, for transcendence (tradition, sobriety, the interior, domestic realm). Along temporal lines, transience emphasizes values concerned with "an ephemeral present ... an exhilarating sense of freedom" while transcendence emphasizes "a sense of roots and tradition ... planning for the future and family descent" (p. 132). Spatially, the "contrast would be a 'centripetal' quality of the domestic as against a 'centrifugal' orientation to the streets" (p. 135). The locus of his study spans four communities or housing areas, selected to reflect Trinidad's contemporary heterogeneous residential patterns across socio-economic and ethnic lines.

From the ritual realm of Christmas and Carnival, Miller moves to a chapter entitled, "The Household as Cultural Idiom," where everyday life practices within inheritance patterns, household forms, unions, and sexual practices (the time honored subjects of Caribbean studies) are mined for their dualistic essences. Another on "Mass Consumption" introduces a wide and scintillating terrain of popular culture, again with the agenda of demonstrating a multitude of expressions of duality. The reader tastes bits of Trinidad – from corner "limes" and Tupperware parties, to verbal "cuss-outs" and highly sexualized grinding and wining dance forms, calypso lyrics, and clippings from the daily press, to literary genres of V.S. Naipaul and Earl Lovelace. Selecting from social practices and signs of taste, he presents the interior aesthetics of cars and living rooms, distinctive forms of sartorial display, and the popularity of television soap operas to demonstrate creative and culturally specific enactments of consumption as well as the embodiment of the transient/transcendent duality in every aspect of Trinidadian life. In essence, each descriptive chapter builds support for his proposal that presumed divisions along the lines of gender, class, and especially ethnicity are instead objectifications of Trinidad's more essential social axis – transience and transcendence.

Miller's starting point is modernity. Drawing from Habermas's reading



of Hegel, he conceptualizes modernity not as a particular set of institutions or artifacts, or a historically specific period marked by particular political-economic (capitalist) processes, but as an underlying condition, grounded in real and observable transformations in the world in which "a new temporal sense has undermined the conventional grounds for moral life" (p. 76). Intent on rejecting determinism, however, he provides his reader with little in which to ground this striking Trinidadian modernity. If rupture and contradiction are modernity's emblems, we get little discussion about how those crucial ruptures of slavery and indenture, colonial and nationalist hegemonies, and finally the oil "boom" and "bust" give rise to these signs of modernity and its particular temporal dualism that constitutes Trinidad's core. Miller covers so much terrain in such a breathless hurry that this very kernel of his argument runs the risk of tautology: as a culture of rupture and creolization, Trinidad is quintessentially modern; modernity is marked by temporal duality which lies at the core of Trinidadianess.

Reading between the lines of his descriptions, what is most interesting is how men and women, rich and poor, "Indians" and "Africans" (his terms) all enact their cultural practices along a *continuum* of transcendence and transience. Indeed, as relational essences, each individual, group, and ritual itself may shift and slide across this continuum – at one moment or in one gesture expressing the ephemeral and exterior, in another, the "traditional" and interiorizing. His quotation of Simon Schama (1988:371), writing an historical ethnography of Amsterdam, demonstrates the point best: "As in many other departments of Dutch culture, opposite impulses were harmoniously reconciled in practice. Nor did it take any lofty wisdom to see that the world was not torn asunder between abstinence and indulgence. Any fool could see that the same people embodied, at different times, in different places, the values appropriate to their impermanent role" (p. 299). With a telling pun playing on the dual meanings of the word "to forge," Miller points to new directions for analyzing comparative modernities. That as a noun, a forgery is a "fake" or counterfeit, and a verb (to forge) implies creation, hints at the contradictory but coexisting essences (authenticity and fraudulence) that encapsulate Trinidadian culture and "give hope to the experience of modernity itself" (p. 322).

Beyond theorizing modernity, Miller sees his major contribution to be that of ethnography – employing the tools of anthropology to unearth the specific and changing ways in which people "live through" culture. Through comparative studies of modernity, he proposes that local/global, traditional/modern will increasingly be understood as dialectical pairs rather than opposing historical periods, and this call is long awaited.

Unfortunately, his notion of ethnography as "apt illustration" falls short of the thick description that is anthropology at its best. By using his material "to illustrate my point and perspective" and by including few data that "disrupt or negate" them, Miller's ethnography is slippery and admittedly partial. For example, he states at the outset, that he is "more concerned to examine observed practice, while treating language as a level of legitimation by informants than as privileged access to explanation" (p. 3). Dividing language from practice in this way is troubling, since it is precisely in the cracks between language and practice, between what people say and what we observe them to do, that ethnographic work can make its most probing observations and analyses.

Ironically, in the instances when Miller does engage language and cites what people say, native usage itself becomes essentialized. For example, class in Trinidad is said to have questionable analytical utility by virtue of the fact that the term is rarely used outside foreign educated or radicalized groups of Port of Spain (pp. 269-70). That Trinidadians have specific ways of talking about different groups ("big shot" people and the "little man") and behavior (acting "social" vs. joining in and "freeing up"), however, hints at the particular ways in which class may be uniquely fashioned, challenged, and reconstituted in post-oil boom Trinidad. But the example of class is dramatically contradicted by that of ethnicity. Where class failed as a useful analytical concept because of its absence from popular discourse, ethnicity fails in spite of popular belief in its preeminence. Here, "Africans" and "Indians" are presented as remarkably similar (in their practices of consumption, ritual observance, aesthetics, etc.) despite the popular rhetoric which portrays them at odds. In short, these contradictions reflect Miller's selective and theory-driven ethnographic approach, and the book's most troubling weakness.

If modernity in Trinidad is experienced along the shifting axes of transient and transcendent practice, Miller's ethnography embodies the tension as well. It is simultaneously transcendent – employing the enduring tradition of dualism – and even more markedly transient – demonstrating new and powerful arenas of social practice, but perhaps ephemeral in its hurried rush for distinction.

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*Race and Class: Struggles in a Colonial State: Trinidad 1917-1945*.  
KELVIN SINGH. Kingston: The Press – University of the West Indies, 1994.  
xxii + 284 pp. (Paper J\$ 490.00)

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This is an immensely informative book. No other work tells us so much about the relationship between “laboring classes” and “the state” in Trinidad during the first half of the twentieth century. Steadfastly preempting any romanticizing of “colonial times,” Singh documents the wretched wages and work conditions of Trinidad’s agricultural and industrial workers. He tells us as well about their protests, the voluntary organizations they formed in their search for empowerment, and the response of “the state” to their plight and struggles. This is the sort of historical information that scholars of Europe and the United States have readily available to them, but which is generally much less available for colonial societies, and which certainly has not previously been available for Trinidad. One does not need to subscribe to any orthodox theory of “base” and “superstructure” to acknowledge that it is difficult for social analysis – at least of societies in a capitalist world – to proceed without such a thorough account of political economy.

Part of the richness of Singh’s account is that he avoids representing “the state” as singular and monolithic. In quite concrete detail, he considers divergences between the colonial state and the metropolitan state, and concomitantly, between Trinidad’s capitalist classes and the much more powerful capitalist classes of the metropole. As a result, instances of the state’s limited autonomy from the interests of particular capitalist classes are contextualized in terms of international relations and the world economy. Indeed, one of the strengths of this work is that it locates Trinidad in relationship to the historically shifting situation of British imperialism. Singh’s analysis thus contributes more broadly to our under-

standing of the dissolution of the British Empire. Singh does not, however, provide a comparably thorough discussion of Trinidad's relationship to U.S. neo-imperialism.

Other than "the state," Singh's analysis depends most upon the category of "the working classes." By his choice of materials and examples, Singh defines "the working classes" primarily in terms of sites of capitalist production for international trade. He says relatively little, by contrast, about work done in households, or about the relationship between waged and unwaged labor. Similarly, Singh's narrative privileges workers in agriculture and industry at the expense of those in Trinidad's service sector. One notable effect of these choices is to make women's work all but invisible in this study.

Moreover, while Singh generally neglects gender as an axis of difference, his treatment of racial difference within the working classes gives "race" a false concreteness and objectivity. One of Singh's persistent concerns is with how, over time, working class solidarity was fragmented by race. He makes a compelling case that this occurred in part because race was exploited by social actors in defense of the interest of capital. But he does not move beyond this observation to develop an understanding of racial identities as contingent products of social action. For example, not much is said in Singh's narrative about distinctions of "shade," as if Trinidad's highly elaborated hierarchy of color were of little import. What this overlooks is that the absence of Indo-Trinidadians from this hierarchy figured them as "East-" and not "West Indians." Distinctions of shade operated, in effect, as a marker of "belonging," as well as markers of rank. Quite obviously – and painfully – this idiom of geographic identities is also part of the story of the fragmentation of working class solidarity by "race." The general point is that the social effects of "race" cannot be understood without examining the historically specific ways racial identities have been organized. Racial identities are never mere reflections of objective facts of demography or "ancestry"; rather, racial identities are always ways of organizing – or constructing – social relations and boundaries.

If Singh's narrative does not capture the full historical contingency of "race," he nonetheless provides a classic, and in many ways authoritative, study of "political economy." When all is said and done, *Race and Class: Struggles in a Colonial State* is a remarkably useful book. The research and documentation are models of scholarly care. The prose is clear and lucid. Singh has provided a foundation that will do much to enable subsequent scholarly work.

*Jamaica: Preparing for the Twenty-First Century*. PATSY LEWIS (ed.). Kingston: Ian Randle, 1994. xvi + 272 pp. (Cloth n.p.)

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This book presents the papers, keynote speeches, and major contributions to the discussion from a symposium organized on the occasion of Jamaica's thirtieth year of independence. The keynote address by then Finance Minister Hugh Small offers an interesting glimpse of the original motivation for the symposium, the strongly felt need to move away from the short-term perspectives associated with IMF programs and to begin to look at the longer-term. To do that, it was necessary to analyze the experience of the past thirty years and chart a new path for the future, informed by this retrospective analysis and by an analysis of the experience of successful late developing countries. The book brings together papers on a wide variety of topics which do exactly that, and they are written by leading intellectuals and public officials from Jamaica and abroad.

What is striking about the book is the intellectual honesty that characterizes the papers, regardless of the political positions of the authors. There is a complete absence of ideology and instead a serious searching for viable options to promote economic and social development most effectively. Several points of consensus can be distilled from the essays on economic strategies (written by Omar Davies, Donald Harris, Michael Best, and Robert Forrant) and on the role of education and technology in development (written by Arnaldo Ventura, Norman Girvan, and Alfred Sangster). First, these essays are pervaded by a healthy combination of a somber assessment of external constraints and a conviction that there are options, that it does matter what choices Jamaican policy-makers, entrepreneurs, and other leaders make. Second, in some form or another, all of the contributors attribute a central role to the state in shaping a development strategy and pursuing it in partnership with the private sector. Nobody here believes in market magic, and everybody accepts the failures of excessively statist models that discouraged private investment. The paper on the Korean economic development experience, written by Sung Sang Park, the author of the first five-year-plan for the Korean economy in 1961, underlines the need for both a strategic industrial policy and a state-private sector partnership. Third, prescriptions for the economic development strategy center around a shift from raw material-based exports to

differentiated quality products and therefore an industrial policy to promote flexible specialization. Fourth, all agree that once an industrial strategy has been formulated, corresponding policies for government-supported R & D and for technical education and training are essential. Central elements of an industrial strategy aimed at flexible production consist of support for transition to new principles of production and organization and for networking among domestic and foreign firms. Fifth, those papers that address the question of macro-economic policy are unanimous that high rates of inflation are detrimental to economic development and that high fiscal deficits need to be avoided.

Another set of papers is grouped under the heading of "Jamaican Production Environment." Here, Trevor Munroe writes on the industrial relations culture, Carl Stone on the party system and political culture, Gladstone Bonnick on crime and violence, Maxine Henry-Wilson on community involvement, and Beverly Anderson-Manley on gender considerations. Munroe argues that the Jamaican culture of industrial relations is in transition from an exploitive, authoritarian, adversarial, and voluntaristic model to a more enlightened, humanist, participatory, team-oriented, and professional one. The argument about changes in the economic and social context that favor such a reorientation is plausible, but the problem is the lack of any evidence for the emergence of this new model, as all the data presented are from the second half of the 1980s and document the prevalence of the old model. Stone traces the major changes in the Jamaican party system, such as the trend to more national voting in all constituencies and the decline in leadership credibility, and he calls for greater internal party democracy, proportional representation in order to reduce the disproportional allocation of seats to the winning party, and a presidential system in order to separate ministerial duties from constituency representation. Taken in isolation, the proposals seem reasonable enough; however, recent studies of Latin American politics have argued forcefully that the combination of PR and a presidential system prevalent in the region is particularly prone to political stalemate and thus has contributed to many of the breakdowns of democracy. The common thread in the papers by Henry-Wilson and Anderson-Manley is concern about the discrepancy between policy statements regarding the need for community involvement and gender-sensitive policy-making, and the reality of policy-making and implementation, where traditional bureaucratic modes still tend to prevail.

Finally, the two essays by Richard Bernal and by Alister McIntyre offer a comprehensive overview of the changes in the global and regional economies and their effects on Jamaica's options. These authors agree with the

others on the need to search for new markets and improve the quality of the labor force, and they add emphasis on the erosion of preferential trade agreements and thus the need to form a common front of CARICOM countries in negotiations for regional trade liberalization. In sum, this is a valuable book that addresses a wide range of questions bearing on the future of Jamaica. It should be of interest to all dealing professionally with the Caribbean or involved in development options for small countries.

*One Blood: The Jamaican Body*. ELISA JANINE SOBO. Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 1993. vii + 329 pp. (Paper US\$ 17.95)

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*One Blood: The Jamaican Body* is to my knowledge the first and only work devoted to Jamaican concepts of body, its vulnerability, its somatic disorders, and its reproduction. The problematics of gender and kin relations are analyzed from this point of view. The text is divided into five parts: "Traditional Health Beliefs," "Patterns of Social Interaction," "Reproducing Society," "Gender Relations," and "Bad Bellies" (this last dealing with menstrual taboos and magic, abortion, and impregnation by spirits called "duppies"). Rich in detail, Sobo's study is a welcome and long overdue contribution to an understanding of Jamaican culture and particularly to Caribbean ethnomedical research. It circumvents the cliché of "hot-cold" oppositions and spirit vs. "natural" explanatory models, while menstruation is approached through its multiple meanings, constraints, and usages. Couched in jargon-free, lively prose, the text is spiced with cameos and local expressions, which not only add nuance to the concepts Sobo describes, but leave us with such a vivid impression of having been there that we come away convinced that social interaction among Jamaicans must be characterized by an expressiveness of raw vitality and unabashed humor. This makes the book enjoyable to read, not only for professionals but anyone who has lived in the Anglophone Caribbean.

The author announces her subject as "conceptions of embodied health and sickness" with the body as symbolic areas, and bodily states, whether biomedically recognized diseases or culturally constructed syndromes, used for the expression and exorcism of socio-sexual tensions. As in most

ethnomedical analyses, parallels are drawn between the conceptualization of physical and social body, with causality taking into consideration the interaction between the two realms. Both bodies are seen as a "permeable system that must be maintained in equilibrium," matter (including food, fluids, and goods) ideally circulating freely between the collective and the individual dimensions "if the health of each system is to be maintained and debilitating social and physical decay are to be avoided" (p. 85). The image constantly referred to is that of a ripening, succulent, then rotting fruit. The social underpinning of prescribed norms and moral order implies that health problems result from violations of prescribed conduct – first and foremost from carelessness in physiological or interpersonal domains, and only secondarily from witchcraft. The distinction between spirit-initiated illnesses and biological ones becomes blurred, for improper preventive measures concerning the physical body can leave it open to invasion by duppies. Maladies are thus the unfortunate result of, if not punishment for, risk behavior.

The folk logic concerning bodily fluids in their maintenance of individual health and their reproductive roles are amazingly constant in their logic. However, while the physical body and its natural functions, including sexual intercourse and menstruation, are described as healthy, necessary, and positive, the villagers' discourse on themselves as a people is infused with negative, racist-derived images. An inherent "wickedness in childhood" must be bent at its source. At the meeting point between socio-sexual interaction and the physical body, we find contradictory feelings and statements which tinge even certain physical elements with ambiguity: menstrual blood and sperm have both positive and negative valences, as carriers at once of potential life, as its "growers," and as excreta. Sex, pregnancy and ingestion of food are also ambivalently charged. Hence, pregnancy, a prerequisite to womanhood, is also one of the "risks" of sex – and undesired conceptions may be done away with by abortion – to which Sobo devotes a great many pages. Abortion being an infraction of the moral order, pregnancy may be opportunistically attributed to a duppy. Intercourse, which is a healthy activity for women as well as for the high-natured male, is ideally enjoyed by the female sex, who "discharges" a fertilizable egg during orgasm. Yet taboos on much foreplay, cramped conditions, and the numerous occasions in which it simply provides an opportunity for the disempowered male to reassure himself of some masculinity through "tricks" or rape, turn it into not only a "service" women wish to be recompensed for, but for many a veritable chore. The onus to share (both giving and receiving), which strengthens bonds of real or fictional kin and conjugal or amorous relations, includes cooked



food, whose ingestion is fraught with dangers of poisoning or "tying," the latter especially for men. Once a man has moved from the nurtured dependency on the dominant figure of the mother-as-father to a new one with "friend" or wife, his marginalized, fragile masculine identity is constantly endangered when this nurturing power is entrusted to a stranger.

These conflicting and contradictory ways of thinking and experiencing the same thing are made to emerge naturally at every return to a subject treated earlier. Sobo thus captures much more of the variety of layered significances associated with social or material life, and of the way people tend to switch positions, evoking alternately one sense, then another. The author concentrates on principles of illness causality more than on studies of illnesses themselves or nosological classifications, and therapy is occasionally touched on, but does not constitute a theme of the book, which centers on social strife, stridency, and suspicion, especially between the sexes, against an ideology of "one blood" kin trust, help, and sharing.

Where this study leaves us somewhat unsatisfied is in its presentation of this "kin," at once so all-important, yet so undefined. We learn nothing of brother-sister relations, and little of mother-son, of how long young adults remain in the household, what they contribute while they stay on, the conditions of their departure, or whether they settle on the same plot or move away. We perceive only dimly, through chance examples, to what extent the patriline counts as "kin," though the author treats us to a perceptive analysis of how the father contributes "white blood," and to a certain extent his genealogy should be reckoned "one blood" with his children. Admittedly, Edith Clarke's study from the 1950s demonstrated how varied a kin group could be defined with regard to "households," and what can be glossed as "kin" or fictitious kin for the purposes of sustenance and service, or weddings or funeral rites is, as the author states, subject to continuous "situational redefinition of boundaries between kin and strangers." Yet, some minimal engraving of blood ties must attach to house, and even more so to land, which Clarke found played a part in choice of domiciles, influenced gender relationships, and could be a determining factor in matrifocal residence. Following her distinctions regarding land inheritance (whether "family" or "bought," whether transmitted in the female line called "in the blood," or in the male line termed "in the name"), one feels that dwellings, however modest, and especially land, linking buried ancestors and future generations, must have their place in an understanding of the present social and physical body.

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*Centring the Periphery: Chaos, Order and the Ethnohistory of Dominica*. PATRICK L. BAKER. Kingston: The Press – University of the West Indies, 1994. xxviii + 251 pp. (Paper J\$ 450.00)

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Patrick Baker, associate professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada, has authored a fine history of Dominica using chaos theory and a world systems approach as the vehicles for his account. The attractive volume consists of a preface and introductory theoretical chapter followed by nine chapters carrying events from pre-European Amerindian times to 1972-73, when he conducted dissertation fieldwork, and more briefly to 1984, the time of his last visit. Chapter notes (pp. 191-215), a solid bibliography (pp. 217-40), and a useful index (241-51) are important contributions to the volume. In addition the text is preceded by eleven photographs or illustrations and supplemented by five maps and twenty tables.

This book and Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Peasants and Capital* (1988) are the only two full-length scholarly accounts of Dominica. Baker utilizes the "metaphor of centre and periphery as an attractor creating and re-creating order and chaos ... herein to portray the evolution of Dominican society" (p. 15). His goal is to "present the history of Dominica in a way that emphasizes processes of energy- and information-flow management, the creation of order, the making of sense in a context that is itself a periphery, the creation of a 'world' in an environment that is disorganized because of its relationship to some distant centre" (pp. 15-16). By "centring" he means "individual and collective efforts to accede to and control energy and information in the environment" (pp. 12-13). The terms "centring," "peripheralizing," and "entropy" are introduced at every opportunity. When he gets down to the history itself and moves beyond the jargon of the theoretical frame, Baker is engaging and eloquent.

In the chapter on Dominica's indigenous peoples, Baker provides a standard overview of cultures and events. He might have enriched the survey by incorporating or referring to the recent scholarship of Irving Rouse (1992) and Philip Boucher (1992) or the critical interpretations of Peter Hulme (1986). Although Baker promises an account of the Amerindian encounter with Europeans from an Amerindian perspective (pp. xvii, 17), it is difficult to perceive.

Dominica's colonial history to (roughly) World War II receives the bulk of the book's attention and this is the volume's most valuable contribution. Descriptions of British-French struggles for the island, slavery and emancipation, the formation of the peasantry, the rise of the mulatto elite, and the growth of the banana industry after World War II are lucid and informative. Yet a sense of island contributions to the world wars is missing.

My chief disappointment with the book is Baker's failure to thoroughly exploit the world systems perspective for Dominica. Baker could have strengthened his account of Dominica's position in the world system through inclusion of numerous other subjects. There is relatively little discussion of Dominica's substantial coffee production up to the 1830s, not enough about the island's lime industry (which in the book seems to have ceased in 1937), and virtually nothing about the rise of grapefruit and orange production. The brief ascendancy of Dominica to world leader in vanilla production during the Second World War when Madagascar was blockaded and its equally rapid loss of market after the war support the world systems view of the island economy on the periphery.

An interesting dimension to the study could have been greater emphasis on the ebb and flow of peoples and of individual people. While this account is told partially with respect to Amerindian settlers, European settlers, and their slaves, it is lacking in the last 150 years of history, with the exception of the recent role of "Syrians." Large-scale emigration from the island at the end of the nineteenth century, during the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s, and ongoingly have had notable demographic impacts on sexual balances and on population growth in the late twentieth century. Dominica had the second highest rate of sending people abroad in the Caribbean between 1955 and 1961. The 1981 census (population 73,795) is discussed briefly and the 1991 census (population 71,183) not at all. If more recent demography had been analyzed, it would have altered drastically the view of a population "expanding rapidly" (p. 188). The 1992 *Statistical Digest* for Dominica would have enabled much of the data-based discussion to be more current.

A feeling for the roles of individuals in island life is only weakly developed. Baker describes the contributions of Scotsman Dr. John Imray in the nineteenth century and of Phyllis Shand Allfrey in the mid-twentieth. English expatriate Dr. Henry Nicholls, who played a significant role in island politics, in island and regional agricultural development, and in the recruitment of new settlers to Dominica, is not mentioned. Perhaps no individual exemplifies the instability of life on the periphery or the dislocation of a Caribbean-born person in this century more than the late novelist Jean Rhys. Her story and stories serve as case studies for the alienation and isolation that often accompany life at the edge, but she does not appear in the volume.

Baker provides an important account of population, economy, and politics in his final ten-page chapter and in the three-page appendix, "Some additional facts on Dominica." I wish these descriptions were much more detailed and better worked into his central thesis. With so few scholarly books available on the island, to stop this study with brief notes on the dramatic events of the 1980s and nothing on the 1990s seems an opportunity missed. These criticisms, while not minor, should not detract from the important contribution of this volume. Thanks to Baker, there is now more information available on Dominica's history and on its place in the larger world than ever before.

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*Revolution in the Balance: Law and Society in Contemporary Cuba.* DEBRA EVENSON. Boulder CO: Westview, 1994. xiii + 235 pp. (Cloth US\$ 65.00, Paper US\$ 21.95)

*Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters: Law and Society in Antigua and Barbuda.* MINDIE LAZARUS-BLACK. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994. xxv + 357 pp. (Cloth US\$ 49.00, Paper US\$ 24.95)

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Here are two books that treat the intersection of law and social organization. Mindie Lazarus-Black, an anthropologist, investigates the effects of law on kinship, family, class, and gender in Antigua from the seventeenth century to the present. Debra Evenson, a law professor, conducted field and archival research in Cuba over ten years, focusing on the development of the legal system since 1959 and its role in fostering an egalitarian society. Both writers begin from the premise that laws are effective instruments for the purposeful shaping of society toward intended goals.

Evenson's work enhances general understanding of the relationship between society and law, but is especially valuable as an introduction to and analysis of the Cuban legal system, until now barely known outside of Cuba. The first two chapters explain the Cuban revolution as a radical, transformative, and ongoing program for redistributing economic and political goods. Outsiders often see Cuba's limits on individual rights as problematic, but Evenson points out that their protection in the United States exceeds that of any other country. The U.S. constitution does not recognize social and economic rights, and deeply-rooted ideologies militate against granting primacy to social justice and collective goods. Cuban ideas about democracy and society, by contrast, favor the collectivity. Thus U.S. strategies have always aimed at crippling the Cuban economy and the revolutionary social ends that depend on it.

Succeeding chapters deal with the legal profession, the judicial system, gender and racial equality, criminal justice, property, family, economic regulation, and the role of all of these in advancing the goals of the revolution. They are clear and well-documented. Importantly, Evenson's sympathy with the revolution does not inhibit her from criticizing the legal and social orders. Her book is an important addition to the growing recent literature on Cuba.

It is instructive to compare, however briefly, Evenson's presentation of family and family law in Cuba with that of Lazarus-Black in Antigua. The Cuban family system bears many resemblances to the Antiguan, which is not surprising since common features of domestic and reproductive life occur throughout the Caribbean. Just as the "illegal encounters" of many Antiguan did not accord with "legitimate acts," domestic and reproductive relations in Cuba often contradicted the Spanish code that officially governed them before the revolution. In both places family form and domestic and reproductive relations varied with class and color. But, whereas Lazarus-Black contends that law has always strongly influenced domestic and reproductive relations in Antigua, Evenson reports that Cuba's new Family Code has not been able to transform the Cuban family. Patriarchal relations, double sexual standards, "the glorification of male promiscuity" (p. 140), and extra-legal mating, birth, and family formation persist. The law has much more successfully boosted the independence and status of women, enlarged their opportunities, and guaranteed them important rights, as it has done in Antigua.

The failure of law to alter domestic relations in revolutionary Cuba prompts questions about factors that influence the transformative power of law. It urges scrutiny of Lazarus-Black's thesis that Antiguan legal codes shaped specifically Antiguan domestic and reproductive behaviors (p. 9). Evenson's work supports Lazarus-Black's general assertion that law influences social organization in the Caribbean, but it is bold to claim a particular, direct relationship between domestic and reproductive patterns and the legal history of one small territory when those patterns include many regional features. The author does not discuss the questions that her methodology raises. Nevertheless, her thesis suggests intriguing directions for Caribbeanist research.

The book falls into two parts, an historical section based on archival work and a contemporary section based on field research. Both are innovative and interesting, but the second is more solid, its interpretations more convincingly emergent from the empirical research. It explains how ordinary people use the courts for family matters and illustrates the role of law and courts in their everyday lives. It also shows that the Antiguan legal system not only influences society, but responds to societal needs and changes. Lazarus-Black is especially good at eliciting feelings and ideologies about love, marriage, gender, and similar subjects from her informants, conveying them to her readers, and making reasonable interpretations.

The first part of the book is historical, and tries to show how family, kinship, class, and gender developed together from the seventeenth century. Its most solid and successful contribution is its history of Antiguan

law. From the time of settlement in the seventeenth century, the dominant English colonists devised laws to control the labor force, whether slave or free, and regulate marriage, family, inheritance, and kinship. Ordinary people meanwhile developed working systems of behavior defined as illegal, such as out-of-wedlock birth and non-marital matings that often crossed class and color lines and did not involve co-residence, just as they did in Cuba.

Two methodological problems weaken this historical section. The author occasionally treats law as if it were behavior, even though she knows that the two are often different. If the archival materials needed to support assertions about behavior are not obtainable, the assertions might better be cast as hypotheses. For example, Lazarus-Black contends that restrictive Antiguan divorce law in the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth is an explanation for extra-legal unions. She writes: "living in sin" and having children out of wedlock reflected not so much a failed morality as the near impossibility of canceling a marriage contract" (pp. 123-24). Never mind the doubtful notions of "living in sin" (even with quotation marks) and "failed morality," or the absence of a vision outside these limited alternatives. The point is that she offers no evidence to support her contention about the relationship of divorce law to extra-legal mating and reproduction. On the contrary, we later read that after emancipation people in "the common order" eagerly sought to legalize their unions, and also "invented a rite to end an unhappy union" (pp. 144-45). That sounds more like using and ignoring law as advantage dictates than bending under its weight. And there is still the problem of offering local law as an explanation for behavior common to the region. We need to be shown what is unique in Antiguan patterns and precisely how local law produced Antiguan variations on pan-Caribbean forms. The hypothesis that divorce law is implicated in Caribbean mating and reproductive patterns is, however, an alluring topic for comparative research.

The other methodological weakness is the author's extension of her hypotheses to Barbuda. The two islands make up one state, and Lazarus-Black, who carried out fieldwork on both, dismisses vast ecological, economic, political, and historical differences on a societal scale by reducing them to an identity myth that separates Barbudans from Antiguan on an individual level (p. 5). A great deal of multi-disciplinary research over the last thirty-five years (history, ethnology, historical archaeology, historical geography) amplifies Douglas Hall's (1971:59) succinct description of Barbuda's differences from Antigua: "there were no sugar estates, no plantocracy, and no colonial government. Barbuda was the private property of the Codrington family."

These differences might be seen as negligible when one starts, as Lazarus-Black does, from a premise of the primacy of law, except that she has overlooked a crucial fact: Antiguan law did not apply to Barbuda until 1860. At emancipation, writes Hall (1971:65), "Barbuda was not subject to the laws of Antigua," and the Assembly of Antigua declared, in 1835, that it had "not the constitutional right to pass laws for Barbuda" (1971:63). Barbuda, as a private leasehold for nearly two hundred years, had no legal institutions whatever (1971:62). Only in 1860 did the Colonial Office resolve its legal status by negotiating the extension of Antigua law into Barbuda (1971:85). Hall (1971:63-65) maintains that no Antiguan law before 1860 even mentioned Barbuda.

If Barbudan family, kinship, and gender systems before 1860 were the same as Antiguan, then the argument that Antiguan law shaped them can not be sustained. Indeed, it appears that no legal system shaped them. If they were different, Barbuda could make a test case for the theory. Lazarus-Black supplies no data to plug this hole in the argument.

Neither are there data to show that the systems on the two islands are identical today, probably because the author did not problematize the notion that Antigua subsumes Barbuda. Her theoretical orientation favors the primacy of institutions, such as law and government, and leads her to assume identity between the two islands on the basis of joint statehood imposed on Barbuda in 1981. By dismissing signal historical disparities in political and legal status, and contemporary as well as historical differences in many areas of economic and social life, Lazarus-Black has lost a remarkable and perhaps unique opportunity for using Barbuda as a control.

In sum, the book is strong in its history of Antiguan law and its field research on contemporary law and society, but marred by unexamined assumptions and methodological weaknesses. On the other hand, it does, like Evenson's book, disclose new research directions, provoke new thinking about some familiar Caribbean topics, and make worthwhile contributions to the burgeoning study of law and society in the Caribbean.

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*Torn between Empires: Economy, Society, and Patterns of Political Thought in the Hispanic Caribbean, 1840-1878.* LUIS MARTÍNEZ-FERNÁNDEZ. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994. ix + 333 pp. (Cloth US\$ 50.00)

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Comparative history is a fascinating, complex sub-discipline of the historical profession. Questions about the cases to compare and the analytical value of the comparisons remain difficult to solve and tend to provoke contradictory opinions and heated debate. Luis Martínez-Fernández has not let himself be scared off by these problems. In *Torn between Empires* he draws a comparison among the three Spanish-speaking societies in the Caribbean: Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. His central theme is the expansionist and imperialist ambitions of the Western nations vis-à-vis these countries. As an undercurrent in his story, he presents an analysis of the differential development of the three territories.

Cuba was undoubtedly the most important of the three in the nineteenth century. Economically, it was the strongest, and because of its importance for Spanish colonialism it held a privileged and, at times, quite autonomous position. Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic had fewer opportunities to impose themselves on the global scene. Puerto Rico was firmly tied to the Spanish motherland, and the Dominican Republic was formally independent, but economically underdeveloped and militarily under the threat of its Haitian neighbor.

Martínez-Fernández points out how the continuous interest of the European powers and the United States to extend their influence in the Caribbean was a decisive factor in the nineteenth-century development of the Hispanic Caribbean. U.S. governments, loyal to the just pronounced Monroe doctrine, tried to control and restrict European influence in the region, but they were confronted with an energetic European imperial design. England, Spain, and France were active on the diplomatic front.

It is especially interesting to see how the intervention of Spain and the United States was shaped by the racial perceptions of their main actors. The issue of slavery crept into almost all diplomatic debates concerning the Caribbean. In the internally divided U.S. administrations it caused a particularly profound ambiguity. In Cuba, too, politicians held contradictory opinions. Most of them advocated the continuation of slavery. Simulta-

neously they were concerned about the "darkening" of the population and the increasing danger of a slave revolt.

The picture becomes even more complicated in light of numerous annexationist plans of Caribbean politicians and filibustering schemes of U.S. adventurers. Martínez-Fernández's book presents a dazzling number of these projects. It thus creates a picture of a highly contested and extremely unstable area, where no such thing as a *status quo* existed.

The details of his description are too numerous to repeat here. But I would like to voice some specific criticisms of his generally admirable work. First, Martínez-Fernández relies heavily on foreign – we might even say "imperialist" – archival sources, mainly from Spain, the United States, and Great Britain. Although these sources are sometimes juxtaposed by material drawn from local archives, the book offers a largely external perspective on the Caribbean.

I am also not convinced that the book has succeeded in its comparative goals. Throughout, the three countries remain isolated cases. This is certainly the case with the Dominican Republic; Martínez-Fernández has to admit time and again that this society's history is so specific that it is hardly comparable to that of the other two. But in fact, the same is true for Puerto Rico and Cuba. The historical comparison is, above all, legitimated by the fact that the three societies shared certain cultural aspects (of which language was undoubtedly the most important) and a comparable colonial heritage. However, because Martínez-Fernández focuses on the social and economic developments and the international political context, these factors lose most of their significance. That is especially regrettable because there were indeed significant similarities in the nineteenth-century history of the three. To give just one example, the late nineteenth century saw a unique political cooperation of Spanish Caribbean intellectuals, both those defending the ruling classes and the anti-imperialist revolutionaries. Discussion of this kind of linkage is largely missing in Martínez-Fernández's book.

All this makes the book somewhat disappointing. It does not create a convincing general image which might have glued together the different historical experiences of the three countries and provided readers with a new comparative narrative in which the similarities and differences within the nineteenth-century Spanish-speaking Caribbean would acquire a new dimension. On the other hand, Martínez-Fernández has offered a comprehensive English-language synthesis for the Hispanic Caribbean in a crucial period of its existence. By also showing how many comparative questions still remain unsolved, he opens interesting roads for future historical research.

*The Economics of Cuban Sugar*. JORGE F. PÉREZ-LÓPEZ. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991. xviii + 313 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

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Jorge Pérez-López, an international economist with the Bureau of Labor Statistics at the U.S. Department of Labor, has written extensively on topics relating to the post-revolutionary Cuban economy. In *The Economics of Cuban Sugar*, published in the Pitt Latin American Series, Pérez-López details the changes in the Cuban sugar industry in the period since 1959, offering some brief comparisons with patterns in earlier years. The book lives up to the term economics in its title in several ways. It is organized around the theme of supply and demand. It draws upon numerous primary sources for considerable quantitative material, with 51 tables, 3 figures, and 6 appendices of statistical data. And it uses economic analysis to examine some quite interesting problems, such as the value of the Soviet subsidy to Cuba as a result of trading arrangements. The arguments, even when most politically charged, are presented clearly and dispassionately, while the thirty-one-page list of references indicates the scope of materials utilized. And the book can be followed by those with a limited knowledge of economic theory and statistical analysis.

While few of the arguments will seem new or novel, the strength of the book is in the clarity of the discussion and the presentation of the relevant statistical data. The continued dependence of the Cuban economy on sugar, after the initial post-revolutionary attempt at industrialization, is clearly documented, sugar providing rather large shares of Cuban agricultural output and exports. There were basic changes in production, with redistribution of landholdings to small farmers and to production cooperatives (with most of the land growing sugar belonging to the state), an expansion in the share of the harvest mechanized, and a dramatic shift in the major export market, from the United States to the Soviet Union, a shift that led, politically, to a larger subsidy received by Cuban sugar interests. After analyzing various estimates of the Soviet subsidy in the 1980s, Pérez-López concludes that the subsidy was equal to about 42 percent of total Cuban exports, a figure that was probably above 5 percent of Cuba's GNP. Whether the use of the price of sugar represented the most efficient way to pay a subsidy, as contrasted with the possibility of untied grants, is doubtful, although it may have been the easiest way to justify it to the

Soviet consumers and taxpayers. Clearly such a large subsidy, of considerable use to Cuba, imposed high costs on the Soviet Union – another indication of the burdens most nations face in maintaining an empire. There were, however, some possible drawbacks to Cuba resulting from its ties to the Soviet Union, including delays in mechanization due to the imposed failure to adopt Australian technology, and also to the cost of the political role played by Cuba in providing assistance to some of the sugar economies of the Third World.

In addition to the examination of these major issues of political economy, Pérez-López includes considerable interesting detail on the nature of sugar production and marketing, and on the impact of sugar production upon food production and imports after 1960. There is yet another sense in which *The Economics of Cuban Sugar* has become a work of economic history rather than a reference work dealing with contemporary Cuba. Since its publication Cuba's major trading partner has literally disintegrated, and found itself more concerned with internal problems than with the support of a foreign nation, even one that had been a political ally. Therefore, much of the discussion is dated, and can provide little insight into Cuba's future. That being said, the book remains a valuable contribution to the understanding of the role of sugar and sugar exports in the Cuban economy in the first three post-revolutionary decades.

*Historia de un sueño: Los ferrocarriles públicos en la República Dominicana, 1880-1930.* MICHEL BAUD. Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1993. 145 pp. (Cloth US\$ 10.00)

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Through a detailed presentation of the development of a public railroad system in the Dominican Republic, Michiel Baud provides an analysis of the economics and politics of the Cibao region in the Dominican Republic in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Theoretically, *Historia de un sueño* challenges two prevailing views on public railroad construction in Latin America's social science. One is that which emphasizes the modernizing consequences of railroad construction, including the introduction of more sophisticated technology, a greater entrepreneurial

sense, the growth of capitalist relations, and the promotion of agricultural exports. The other, informed by dependency theory, argues that public railroads failed to play a progressive role insofar they became an expression of external domination.

Baud argues that both views are limiting and deserve further exploration for several reasons. First, they underestimate the role of local forces as an essential base to promote the development of the infrastructure. Second, the construction of public railroads was not simply the product of a plan that external forces adopted unilaterally. Third, the government frequently changed its position over time on the significance of a public railroad system and different groups benefited from such changes. And finally, some analysts have at times overlooked the ways in which railroad construction favored industrialization through the importation of new technologies, the formation of new labor markets, and new capital investments.

Baud argues that to better understand the significance of railroad construction, it is necessary to examine the process of social change in the country and the economic and political conditions that led to the conception and completion of the railroad projects. It is also important to assess the social consequences of the construction work in relation to the role of domestic and external forces, and to analyze the economic consequences of the railroad system.

The research on which the book is based included the study of two different railroad construction projects in the Cibao region in the late nineteenth century: the Samaná-Santiago and the Puerto Plata-Santiago railroads. The Cibao was a productive agrarian region with no immediate access to seaports. While it developed economically throughout the nineteenth century, the political power was concentrated in the capital city of Santo Domingo, located in the south. Hence, the Cibao producers and merchants attempted to find the best linkage with the northern coastline (Puerto Plata, Samaná, and Montecristi) to facilitate and promote exports. Initially, the Santiago elite asked the government to build a road connecting the city of Santiago with the Puerto Plata seaport. The pressures increased in the 1870s and early 1880s in the midst of the economic crisis produced by a decline of tobacco prices. The link with a seaport was indeed viewed as a way out of the economic malaise that affected the region at the time.

The "railroad fever," as Baud calls it, began in 1875 when the first locomotive arrived from Germany at the Montecristi seaport. Works on the first railroad for public usage – the Samaná-Santiago railroad – began in 1882. (There was a private railroad system in the sugar industry.) Facing a

shortage of manpower, workers from the British and Dutch islands were brought to the Dominican Republic to work in the railroad construction: by 1883 there were about 350 workers from those islands, and by 1887 the number reached between 1,000 and 1,500. The railroad project faced yet another problem: the heavy rainfall in some portions of the territory seriously threatened the construction works. While the railroad was finally inaugurated in 1888, it never operated without difficulties related to the deficient construction technology and the climatic conditions.

Discontent with the construction of the Samaná-Santiago railroad motivated the efforts of the Cibao elite to build a railroad between Puerto Plata and Santiago. The work began in 1891, yet the mountains between Puerto Plata and Santiago posed construction difficulties. In addition, conflicts between the Dominican government and the European construction firm delayed completion of the project. The construction work was also complicated by a shortage of manpower. Finally, an earthquake damaged part of the track soon after it was completed.

By the early twentieth century, the railroad companies faced yet another difficulty: the recurrent economic crises at the turn of the century had reduced the volume of goods being transported, causing a decline in income to the railroad companies. The Samaná-Santiago railroad was particularly affected by a decline in the price and quantity of exported agricultural products. The railroad also had to face the competition of truck transportation after new roads were built during the U.S. occupation of 1916-24.

The book is organized around the argument that the dream of having a railroad in the Dominican Republic was short-lived and surrounded by difficulties. The building of railroads brought about socio-economic changes to the country, particularly to the Cibao region. The railroad accelerated the process of capitalist development, transformed labor relations by creating an unprecedented demand for manpower, introduced new technologies and systems of production, and facilitated the transportation of agricultural products. Yet the initial euphoria over the railroad did not last long. The service was deficient and unreliable. The railroad system was plagued by technical difficulties and its administration by corruption. For these reasons, the economic elite of the Cibao region favored other means of transportation as soon as they became available.

*Las emigraciones canarias a Santo Domingo: Siglos XVII y XVIII.*  
CARLOS ESTEBAN DEIVE. Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana,  
1991. iii + 185 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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The quincentennial of Columbus's voyage to America has motivated a whole series of studies that go well beyond the traditional controversies. More sophisticated documentation of Spanish emigration to the New World (not only in the first century but during the entire colonial period), regional distribution in regard to origin and destination of emigrants and, when possible, quantification of the flow is permitting a better understanding of both the pressures in the sending provinces and the rationale for settlement patterns in America.

Spain has always been a regionally diversified nation. The volume and dynamics of emigration from provinces such as Andalusia, Galicia, Catalonia, and the Canary Islands varied greatly over the centuries. Once the period of conquest had passed, it was the state of regional economies in Spain as well as government policy that directed the flow. Mass emigration was not encouraged however. Ordinary people who could not afford to pay for the voyage had to come as servants or soldiers. Therefore it was the administrators, the clergy, the military, and their families who formed colonial elites ready to push on when opportunities arose or to defend their vested interests when challenged. Intercolonial mobility was unavoidable.

By the seventeenth century the early colonies in the Caribbean were suffering from a drain of settlers who had departed for the continent. That left the islands vulnerable to foreign penetration as other European nations took over the Lesser Antilles. The initiative to bring poor white settlers to form stable communities in Santo Domingo came from the colonial administration, increasingly concerned about depopulation. Meanwhile, economic changes in the Canary Islands had created a pool of unemployed agricultural labor which needed to be drained off, provided the project could be financed by public funds. From the government's point of view defense considerations furnished the rationale.

Carlos Esteban Deive's book fits into the current pattern of regional migration studies. It also represents a continuation of some earlier publications. His interest in the relationship between colonial policy and the

components of his country's population is reflected in both the two-volume *La esclavitud del Negro en Santo Domingo (1492-1844)* (1980) and *Las emigraciones dominicanas a Cuba (1795-1808)* (1989).

*Las emigraciones canarias a Santo Domingo* examines the migration process, the towns that the Canary Islanders established, the cost of the enterprise, and the experience of some migrant families. Particular attention is given to the role of government policy in fending off foreign penetration by subsidized – and sometimes forced – settlement in the sparsely populated frontier with the French colony of Saint Domingue. The author has made extensive use of primary sources available at the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, in addition to printed document collections and some works by respected Dominican historians, such as Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi and Frank Moya Pons.

Deive argues that the Spanish decision in the early seventeenth century to remove the settlers along the northern coast of Española, in order to curtail their contraband trade with foreigners, left a vacuum that permitted French penetration from the west. By the middle of the century the error was recognized and a new policy provided incentives for the immigration of poor white families from the Canary Islands whose presence was expected to put a stop to such occupation. He shows that over the next century the establishment of new towns along the border was largely successful in providing a basis for the frontier that was finally agreed on in 1777.

The detailed account of the various early projects can be rather heavy reading. But the attempt to quantify the number of emigrants and the cost of sending them is a valuable contribution. Deive's suggestion that immigration from the Canary Islands was the principal factor in the colony's population growth during the period, however, is somewhat speculative since there is no account taken of outmigration, certainly impossible to quantify. For ambitious people too poor to pay the transatlantic passage, the proximity of Venezuela's prosperous economy must have been tempting as a next step. The idea is interesting, though, and attention to their contribution was needed. Finally, the chapters that describe the experience of frontier life succeed in bringing out the colonists' point of view, especially the suffering they were exposed to by the tropical climate, class conflicts within the colony, and almost constant warfare in the region.

The principal weakness in the study comes in part from the title, which seems to promise more attention to the sending province. It would have been helpful to have a brief chapter on the situation in the Canary Islands that explained why people would be willing to leave in the first place and, secondly, go to one of the less attractive colonies. For this reason Deive's book should be read in conjunction with another one, also published in



1991. Antonio Macías Hernández's *La migración canaria, 1500-1980* provides the necessary context from the point of view of the Canary Islands. Overall, however, Deive has made an important contribution to our knowledge of the links between government policy and population shifts in the Spanish empire during a period that is not well studied.

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*Divided Borders: Essays on Puerto Rican Identity*. JUAN FLORES. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1993. 252 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.50)

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Are Puerto Ricans becoming North-Americanized and thereby losing their national and cultural identity? Since the beginning of the century this assimilation thesis has been the basic assumption feeding the Puerto Rican identity debate. Island-based commentators have claimed that the assimilation thesis is particularly relevant for Puerto Rican migrants in the United States. In *Divided Borders*, however, Juan Flores argues that identity constructions of U.S.-based Puerto Ricans take more intricate paths than the unidirectional line from the pole of essential Puertoricanness to the pole of mainstream North-Americanness.

Flores questions both poles of the assimilation thesis. The essentialist, Hispanophile definition of national culture, which is dominant among island-based commentators, leaves no room for popular, Afro-Caribbean culture and is unable to understand cultural change. On the other side of the line, there is the melting pot's manifest incapacity to eradicate an idiosyncratic U.S.-based Puerto Rican culture. Flores attributes this "de-

ficient" assimilation to the colonial dimension of the relation between Puerto Rico and the United States, of which migrants, once in the United States, become acutely aware. Subsequently, they engage in counter-hegemonic struggles, thereby precisely reinforcing their distinct Puerto Rican identity.

Remarkably, while Flores rejects the relevance of the assimilation thesis for U.S.-based Puerto Ricans, he does apply it to the islanders, who, he maintains, have taken the path of assimilation ever since "Operation Bootstrap." In this perspective, the question of who has the most "Puerto Rican" national identity becomes synonymous with the question of which group distinguishes itself most from U.S. mainstream culture. Flores defines this opposition in the first essay as one between "Anglo-Saxon materialism" and "Latin spirituality." This opposition, however, renders all economic perspectives suspicious and diverts attention from the language question, which in fact dominates the island debate on cultural identity.

The opening essays of the book are dedicated to two classics on Puerto Rican identity. The 1980 essay on Pedreira's *Insularismo* (1934) has the virtue of placing Pedreira within the intellectual currents of his time. However, the main part of this essay consists of detours, comparisons and examples that are only relevant within a Marxist discourse. The second essay (1984) is an elaborate comment on José Luis González's analysis of Puerto Rico as a four-storied country. The author claims that another floor – the migration experience – should be added to this metaphorical building, and that the influence of mass media should also be taken into account. Flores shares with González the assumption that Puerto Rican identity is essentially based on the African component, to which Flores adds the indigenous element.

After two essays on the popular musical styles *bomba* and *plena*, Flores follows the first Puerto Rican working-class migrants to the United States. The actors figuring here are socialists. The perspective remains more political than cultural. The next part focuses on the literature and poetry of the migration experience. The choice of poetry in particular, whether written in English, Spanish, or the code-switching "Spanglish," is excellent. It evokes in powerful images the life of the migrants in a hostile environment.

One of the most interesting essays is "Qué asimilado, brother, yo soy asimilao." From the poetry of Tato Laviera the evolution of the consciousness structuring the formation of Puerto Rican migrants' identity is distilled. This process consists of four simultaneous movements. The first is the state of abandonment. The second is the psychological return to the island, which ultimately leads to the recovering of the African and indigenous foundation of Puerto Rican culture. The third movement is the

introduction of the national dimension to U.S. ethnic relations. The fourth consists of branching out, "the selective connection to and interaction with the surrounding North American society." The analysis is interesting. Yet one wonders about Flores's claim that the process is representative for all migrants. It can be assumed that not all migrants go through these four entire trajectories, and that some are less selective than others in their connection to North American society.

This brings us back to the process of assimilation, which in Flores's book is obscured by various rhetorical devices. First, there is an over-generalization of the experience of individuals and limited social groups. Next, there is a lack of differentiation regarding the migrant community, discarding contrasts linked to generations, place, time and moment of residence, and type of migration (permanent or circular), as well as the influence of the latter type on the U.S.-based community. Finally, there is Flores's disputable labeling of the cultures of North American blacks and other minorities as "counter cultures," so that Puerto Rican alliance with these group cultures does not imply assimilation. The latter division of U.S. culture is in fact at odds with Flores's justified critique of the Puerto Rican island elitist definitions of national culture. If the Puerto Rican popular cultures are "Puerto Rican," why shouldn't the popular cultures of U.S. blacks be "North American"?

Another point is that the author's anti-U.S. stance at times blurs his vision, such as in his statement that the Latin American debt crisis was caused by the policies of U.S. finance institutions, or in his blaming the U.S. educational system for the fact that many Puerto Rican migrants speak "Spanglish."

The ten essays were written over a time span of thirteen years (1978-90). The author has put them in a non-chronological order to lend the book more thematic coherence. Yet it remains a rather heterogeneous collection. If read in chronological sequence one sees the political and professional outlook of the author evolve, roughly from Marxist to less fixed positions which admit for wider perspectives. To this reader, the most recent essays are the most inspiring ones.

All in all, Flores's book is very rich, both in its disciplinary range (history, language, literature, music, linguistic practice, popular culture, social movements) and in its insights and analyses. With his excellent style, Flores seldom bores his readers. *Divided Borders* certainly is a major contribution to the Puerto Rican identity debate.

*Women as Healers, Women as Patients: Mental Health Care and Traditional Healing in Puerto Rico.* JOAN KOSS-CHIOINO. Boulder CO: Westview, 1992. xx + 237 pp. (Paper US\$ 32.95)

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This book has a foreword by Dr. Edward F. Foulks, a preface, eleven chapters and an appendix with methodology and tables. In the first five chapters the author describes the characteristics of women healers (therapists and *espiritistas*). The psychiatric illnesses and emotional complaints of patients who had participated in the 1976-80 "Therapist-Spiritist Training Project" are detailed in Chapters 6-11.

Unfortunately, the book's shortcomings outweigh its merits. In some 240 pages, Koss-Chioino tries to describe the political, social, emotional, and spiritual components of women healers and their patients in Puerto Rico. The author insists that this is an "ethnographic study, based on systematic observations, interviews and questionnaires" (p. xviii). Nevertheless, she warns that it does not follow the standard mode of ethnographic reports but offers an account of her personal experience. The overall results are disappointing. We end up trying to understand a book that was written under the influence of the *espíritus*, by a "social scientist" trained to become an *espiritista* (albeit never becoming one), an "ethnographic study" with disconnected empirical data. The result is a poorly organized story heavily charged with anecdotes and with interpretations of the empirical data that cannot be validated from the tables provided in the appendix. It fails to transcend a cross-sectional view of a self-selected and biased sample. The highly heterogeneous composition of women in Puerto Rican society is never considered in depth. Koss-Chioino's view excludes rather than integrates by choosing only one perspective and ignoring other possibilities, not recognizing that social phenomena are embedded in history, that events can never be abstracted from their past or their future.

Some comments may substantiate this criticism. First, a simplistic interpretation of the social, political, and cultural aspects of Puerto Rico is presented. Koss-Chioino declares that "this book aims at portraying the experience and context of Puerto Rico womanhood in all of its complex, heroic, yet quite imperfect, reality" (p. 6). She also asserts that the drama in

the lives of the women described is "more exciting than the TV novelas (soap operas) to which so many are addicted" (p. 6).

Second, while an enormous amount of data is presented in Chapters 6-11, the book is plagued by numerous inconsistencies between the data in the tables and the author's interpretations. Assertions in the text are unverifiable in the tables provided. This could have been avoided by more thorough editing on the part of the publishers. There is, for example, no direct way to evaluate the author's interpretation of the differences in diagnosis by gender allegedly found in this study (p. 156). In table A.2, the percentage distribution by gender and diagnostic category is presented without the complaint profile. In Table A.1, the diagnostic category and complaint profile but not the gender distribution are presented. Koss-Chioino states that "more men (62%) than women (53%) diagnosed as depressed (dysthymic) said they were very 'nervous'" (p. 156). Nevertheless, Table A.1 shows only 26 percent. Since the complaint categories in Table A.1 are not mutually exclusive, readers cannot recalculate the percentage. There are no available data to evaluate this information for men. Tables are useful to illustrate, describe, and/or provide detailed information about the collected data. Koss-Chioino does not do that.

At the same time, the book does not offer data to compare the three healer groups, even though the author identified this as the central thesis of the work. The comparisons in the text are made only through anecdotal experiences, interpretations, and conclusions by the author and project director.

The statistical and verbal descriptions of the data are not integrated. For example, the author confuses validation of diagnostic classifications with reliability tests (p. 209). Results from an ill-defined model or one with biased information cannot be rescued by even the most sophisticated statistical analysis, regardless of how much "spiritual" help one could get.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of this book is the constant attempt of the author to make inferences from her observations of Puerto Rican women (pp. 17, 18, 21, 107, 113, 128, 149, 177, 194) even though she states that her data and observations are based on a very biased sample (pp. 16 and 89). Moreover, the haphazard manner in which the data are presented means that the results are not even representative of the participating subjects.

Reading this book presented a challenge. It is certainly not an ethnographic report, for it displays no rigor. Neither is it a report of an empirical investigation, for it fails to use the advantages provided by systematic evaluation of observed and collected data.

*El Caribe y Cuba en la posguerra fría.* ANDRÉS SERBIN & JOSEPH TULCHIN (eds.). Caracas: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1994. 272 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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This collection of essays is the fruit of a conference of the same name held in Caracas in May 1993. The list of sponsoring institutions is impressive: Cuba's Centro de Estudios de América, the Instituto Venezolano de Estudios Sociales y Políticos, the Latin American Program of the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, the Instituto de Relaciones Europa-América, and the Universidad Central de Venezuela.

What is the impact of the end of the Cold War on the states of the Caribbean? The short answer is that it brings great hardship to Cuba and not much change elsewhere, since Cuba has been so isolated from the rest of the Caribbean. The longer, more complete, answer is provided in this book's fourteen essays. Many of them highlight how the end of the Cold War has diminished the "strategic" or "geo-political" importance of the region to the United States, making the United States likely to be less generous with foreign aid and commercial concessions, and less accepting of immigration.

The Caribbean's place in a world increasingly grouped into trading blocs is also ably discussed in the volume. David Lewis and Maby González Vilaseca, in particular, discuss the impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on the states of the Caribbean. Their analysis suggests that what is good for Mexico is not necessarily good for its eastern neighbors.

The end of the Cold War gives political elites in the Caribbean much to ponder. But the most pressing question is one not taken up in this volume, for understandable reasons: What will happen in the Caribbean if the Castro regime does not survive what it refers to as this "special, difficult period"? Carlos Romero argues in his contribution that, even with the end of the Cold War, the relationship between Cuba and Venezuela is – and will remain – distant. Despite its efforts to the contrary, Cuba's relationship to the other states of the Caribbean Basin is not likely to differ. But if the Castro regime crumbles, it will no longer be possible in the Caribbean to ignore Cuba.

*La saga del negro: Presencia africana en Colombia.* NINA S. DE FRIEDEMANN. Santa Fe de Bogotá: Centro Editorial Javeriano, 1993. 117 pp. (Paper US\$ 13.00)

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The major virtue of this short book is to demonstrate the lack of attention that Colombian scholars have paid to the nation's African Americans. Almost fifty percent of Colombia's population has some African ancestry, but Friedemann's effort to describe it proves disappointing, for like other Colombian studies, this book tends not to treat blacks as real people. Rather, its synopsis of the literature proves, that with few exceptions, scholars have approached this subject from a distance. According to most of them, blacks in Colombia shared a tragic history of slavery, and contributed to the nation's folklore, music, and language. But they are not treated as if they exist in a real world context today.

The absence of contemporary blacks proves ironic in a book that owes its origin to a curious Colombian law that finally recognized the rights of blacks in the Pacific lowlands. On June 18, 1993, the Congress of the Republic of Colombia passed "Law 70," which gave titles to those blacks who had spent centuries working small plots in the Pacific lowland frontiers. It applied to the descendants of slaves set free on May 21, 1851, who had occupied public lands (*tierras baldías*) in the Pacific coast provinces. After some five hundred years in Colombia, these ethnic blacks finally received their legal rights and privileges.

Friedemann does not challenge such reasoning. During several decades, she and others have studied these same blacks largely as contributors to Colombia's culture and folklore. Colombians such as Friedemann feel that "Law 70" effectively purged past injustices against blacks. Moreover, the law helped make the study of blacks a legitimate intellectual endeavor. Her book tries, though not very successfully, to lead the way to recognizing the African element in Colombian history in two minor ways. She briefly chronicles the history of slavery, and she describes the historiography of African contributions to Colombia's formation. In effect, she says: "Look here, we do have an African past, and the scholars whose work I review have shown the way to study it."

On a more positive note, the book does serve as a starting point for anyone interested in conducting serious research on Colombian blacks.

Friedemann offers a clear chronological overview of their history during the colonial era. In general, she gives a broad description of slave living conditions, the labor slaves performed, and the types of punishments they faced. She also presents an explanation for the large concentration of blacks along Colombia's Pacific coast lowlands, where slaves provided the bulk of the work force on sugar plantations and cattle ranches after the flight of the indigenous population.

Friedemann also explains the role that maroon communities (*paleques*) played in the formation of free black communities on the *tierras baldías* of the Cauca valley. There, significant numbers of blacks lived on lands without titles. Following the abolition of slavery in 1851, such individuals continued to live as so-called "vagrants," tied to the old sugar haciendas. During the twentieth century, they either lived on meager wages from the haciendas, scratched out an existence on their small plots, or, in increasing numbers, moved to the growing cities.

A closing section of the book deals with the cultural contributions of Africans to Colombia. This part of the study concentrates on several familiar topics. Throughout Colombia, place names, including Gabriel García Márquez's fictional Macondo, as well as names of mountains, rivers, and streams, have African origins. So, too, do the nation's music, especially the *cumbia* and *vallenato* music of the Atlantic coast. But this comes as no surprise. Nor does her conclusion that after five hundred years African traditions still contribute to new constructs of Colombian culture, not only for the descendants of slaves but for all Colombians.

Like so many others, Friedemann has largely ignored the true suffering of Colombian blacks, who often live in abject poverty. She does not depict the poverty of real individuals, nor does she describe the conditions in which they live. Today, Colombian black communities experience the highest rates of crime, drug-related violence, and AIDS in the country. Tens of thousands try to flee to larger urban areas to escape the nearly total political and cultural alienation they endure in their own isolated settlements. Friedemann's passing tribute will hardly alleviate their daily suffering from diseases, malnutrition, and poverty. Nor has she called attention to their plight. Unfortunately, Colombians learn almost nothing from this book about the actual black experience or the racism that created these conditions.



*Géopolitique des Petites Antilles: Influences européenne et nord-américaine.* FRANÇOIS TAGLIONI. Paris: Karthala, 1994. vii + 321 pp. (Paper FF 160.00)

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The incidence of the general transnationalization of investment and finance in the global economy, together with the more direct impact upon the Caribbean region of the formation of trade blocs in Europe and North America, have attracted the attention of numerous analysts, and a good number of them have looked at the problems and opportunities that the new international trade environment creates for Caribbean nations. Taglioni's book pretends to add a comparative dimension by looking only at the small islands of the Eastern Caribbean, and also by analyzing their development possibilities vis-à-vis the United States and the European Union.

This book attempts to address too many issues – from how long the preferential access of Caribbean agricultural products can resist the pressure of trade liberalization to the question of whether political stability is synonymous with sovereignty. The one he manages to develop in most depth is the extent to which the politics of foreign aid and cooperation of the European Union toward the Eastern Caribbean islands represents an alternative for regional development and contributes to the improvement of their independence vis-à-vis the United States. In this regard, he concludes that “though the European Union could ... moderate the North American influence, it does not have enough interest in the Eastern Caribbean, or even in the Caribbean, to risk entering into competition with the United States” (p. 306). Obvious as this conclusion may sound for anybody working in the field of *International Relations in the Caribbean*, arguments leading to his answer provide ample and sound analysis of important aspects of the present Caribbean situation.

The book begins with a short overview of the physical and demographic characteristics of the Lesser Antilles, in a chapter that also stresses the importance of colonial heritage in this collection of three British territories (Anguilla, Montserrat, and the British Virgin Islands), three members of the Netherlands Antilles (St. Maarten, Saba, and St. Eustatius), two French Departments (Guadeloupe and Martinique), and seven independent nations (Antigua-Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines). This colonial

heritage has influenced both their political and economic lives, making them highly dependent upon special arrangements with the European Union and, lately, the United States. Even more, for Taglioni, regional cooperation and integration in the Caribbean is a difficult endeavor which will not preclude the need for foreign aid from donor countries and organizations in both the European Union and North America.

One of Taglioni's main arguments is that tourism in the Lesser Antilles is "a powerful engine for improving the quality of life of their inhabitants" (p. 231). He argues that tourism has prompted these island nations to improve their infrastructures (water, electricity, roads, sanitation, and even education). However, classifying the islands in three groups – leaders, outsiders, and marginals – and discussing the situation of touristic activities in each island, he makes it clear that the cost of improving the needed infrastructure to attract tourists is prohibitive for some of them. In this analysis he also fails to mention the environmental constraints posed by insularity and small size. The strong point of this chapter is Taglioni's inclusion of a good collection of maps, figures, photographs, and tables with information comparing hotel accommodations, number of tourists, cruise ship arrivals, and related statistics.

Taglioni evaluates development projects financed by the European Union in the Eastern Caribbean. He depicts them as positive when they deal with infrastructure construction or improvement, an area in which there is a high concentration of European capital, but negative when they emphasize agricultural development, an area in which European bureaucrats have to take into account the human and natural elements present in each island, and in which results can only be seen after a long term. After this, it is difficult to share his confidence that "the European Union policy adequately fulfills the role of engine of development" in these islands (p. 262). In fact, one is more inclined to conclude that the policy of the European Union is more concerned with the development of investment alternatives for their companies and entrepreneurs than with the islands' welfare, and that the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands have successfully managed to employ the Union's financial resources to fulfill their obligations toward their dependent territories in the Caribbean.

Taglioni's concept of geopolitics also deserves comment. Although he offers no theoretical discussion on the subject, it is clear from the beginning that his work fits into what we may call a classic geographical concept. Geographic proximity and the political fact that the European Union has a common policy toward these islands under the Lomé Conventions are enough for Taglioni to consider the Eastern Caribbean a geopolitical unit. Despite these shortcomings, readers will benefit from a wealth of

information and an orderly discussion of the present political and economic situation of the Eastern Caribbean nations and their perspectives.

*Africanisms in Afro-American Language Varieties*. SALIKOKO S. MUFWENE (ed.), with the assistance of Nancy Condon. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993. vii + 512 pp. (Cloth US\$ 40.00)

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The result of an NSF-sponsored international round table, "Africanisms in Afro-American Language Varieties," held at the University of Georgia in February 1988, these twenty-seven papers (seven of them commentaries) attempt to solve some of the basic problems in the conceptualization of the ever-controversial creole languages of the New World.

Essentially, the round table was a face-off organized by scholars who believe that these languages derive in large part from African languages (the Substrate Hypothesis or SubH) as against those who believe they were invented by children (the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis or LBH) and those who contend (p. 1) that they "owe the greater, and the most central, part of their systems to the non-standard dialects of the European languages that lexified them" (the Superstratist Hypothesis or SupH). The organizers further believe that the creoles developed from "approximate" local varieties of the European languages at the time of the huge influx of African population rather than several generations earlier when these local varieties first developed. Thus the round table "was an invitation to substratists to articulate more specifically the nature and extent of the African linguistic contributions that they advocate and to justify their claims with evidence that answers questions commonly raised by proponents of both the LBH and the SupH" (p. 3).

But exactly what is an Africanism? The twelve million Africans forcibly transported to the New World came mostly from West and Central Africa, few from the South and the East, and they spoke numerous different languages from many language families. With little opportunity to learn the standard European language or even its local variant, the Africans did their best to communicate, borrowing the most needed European words (lexifying) as best they could, but often pronouncing them using their tra-

ditional phonology, and calling on their traditional grammatical structure to make them into utterances comprehensible to their masters. The Europeans in turn soon discovered the usefulness of the compromise language that developed – termed “pidgin” as long as it remains a second language, and “creole” when it becomes the first language of a people, who often call both “patois.”

To show the importance of this concept, the languages under discussion include such widely varying types as American Black English Vernacular, Gullah of the Georgia/Carolina coast, Haitian and Antillean French Creole, Ndjuka and Saramaccan of Suriname, Papiamentu of Curaçao, such Caribbean varieties as Jamaican, Bahamian, Belizean, and Kittitian, and for comparison Mauritian and Reunionais from the other side of the world in the Indian Ocean. To demonstrate the striking parallels between widely-dispersed creole languages: a white Mauritian overseer on a St. Lucian sugar estate discovered that he could understand the local French Creole, but never let on to his employees. Then at the fete celebrating the end of his three-year contract, to their utter astonishment, he gave a little speech in Creole saying how much he had enjoyed all the comments they had made about him.

Besides the intricacies of sounding out words and putting them together to make sense, the very words themselves are tricky. Is the beloved Caribbean *bele* dance of ladies wearing traditional Martiniquaise *douillette* dresses from Kikongo “*velele*” or French “*bel air*”? Okra called *gombo* or *gumbo* in Louisiana and the Antilles is probably from Kimbundu “*kingombo*,” but is “*bunda*,” the nasty word for Antillean buttocks, really from Manding, Bambara, and even farther away Kimbundu? Brazilians will be edified to hear that, although “*Samba*” is a common boy’s name in Senegal, it means “to lead” in Manding, and “*chef du chant*” in Haitian. Trinidadians and other Antillians will be amazed to learn that their much-feared blood-sucking sorceress who turns into a ball of fire is not French *soucuyant*, but Fulfulde *sukunyadyo* or Soninke *sukunya*, meaning “*sorcières mangeurs d’hommes*” (p. 150). Needless to say, the controversies implicit in even these few attributions would cause a fistfight to erupt at any serious scholarly meeting of Caribbean linguists. And although Webster still says “origin unknown,” where does “*tote*” (meaning “carry”) really come from?

For all the impressive expertise exhibited in these papers, the background knowledge, field research, and careful consideration of every nuance of centuries-old speech acts, the startling fact is that the historical documentation of the development of these languages simply does not exist, requiring and justifying analysis this refined – and this speculative.

Even so, the important role of Africanisms in New World languages is once more demonstrated and the contribution of Melville and Frances Herskovits is once more recognized for their early program to rehabilitate the image of Africa so long denigrated to justify slavery, and to demonstrate African cultural continuities throughout the Diaspora.

*Atlantic Meets Pacific: A Global View of Pidginization and Creolization.* FRANCIS BYRNE & JOHN HOLM (eds.). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1993. ix + 465 pp. (Cloth US\$ 95.00)

*Old English and New: Studies in Language and Linguistics in Honor of Frederic G. Cassidy.* JOAN D. HALL, NICK DOANE & DICK RINGLER (eds.). New York: Garland, 1992. xxxiii + 460 pp. (Cloth US\$ 75.00)

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The first of these books contains thirty-six papers from the 1989 and 1991 meetings of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, as well as an introduction by the editors (but no index). It is the eleventh book in the *Creole Language Library*, started in 1986.

The phrase "a global view" in the title suggests that some consensus is reached among the linguists who study contact languages from all parts of the globe, but this is not the case. The introduction, by two people whose theoretical viewpoints on the issues are almost as far apart as can be, is a masterpiece in mutual diplomacy. But it is the only one attempting an integrated view of the field, summarizing and commenting on the contributions in a lucid manner.

In the rest of the book, authors briefly present their current research. Almost two thirds of the papers have a Caribbean content. The others deal with such languages as Mauritian Creole, Seychellois, West African Pidgin English, Tok Pisin, Papuan and other Pidgins of the Pacific, Chinese Pidgin English, Foreign Workers German, and Shaba Swahili. Each is arranged in sections called "phonology," "morphology & syntax," "social concerns," "pidgins & pidginization," "creoles & creolization," and "other contact-induced phenomena." There is not enough space to discuss in detail all the papers of interest to Caribbeanists.

Most attention is given to Haitian and the Suriname creoles. The discussion of Haitian focuses on subjectless sentences (Michel DeGraff), so-called anti-perfect aspect in narrative discourse (Arthur Spears), and the normalization of Haitian now that the language is used more and more in the media and education (Kate Howe). Kenneth Bilby discusses the gradual loss of /l/ and /r/ in Aluku and other Suriname creoles, and George Huttar and Evert Koanting provide a detailed analysis of comparative constructions in Ndjuka. The papers by Jacques Arends and Maureen Healy propose new models based on Suriname data. Healy claims (in my eyes rightly) that there is a synchronic continuum between Sranan and Dutch in Suriname today; Arends argues against theories that claim a sudden genesis for Sranan and pleads in favor of a gradualist model, basing his position on older language sources.

The keyword of the volume is perhaps "comparison." Authors compare their data either with similar things in another creole, within a group of creoles, with a putative substrate language, or with non-creole languages. For example, two papers (one by Francis Byrne and Alexander Caskey, another by John Lipski) discuss the preverbal element *ta*, marking durative aspect in many Portuguese and Spanish lexicon creoles. At this point there are some remarkable similarities between these creoles from all parts of the world, even in Saramaccan where the word is derived not from Spanish/Portuguese *estar* but from English *stand* (Smith 1987:216), a fact not mentioned by the authors. This makes the case even more intriguing. Other examples of comparison are Julianne Maher's paper on French Creole in St. Barthélemy and in Guadeloupe or Salikoko Mufwene's discussion of possessive pronouns in the Atlantic creoles.

There are many interesting papers in this volume. Unfortunately most of them are frustratingly brief. This briefness may explain the omission of certain historical information, indispensable in this field and of interest to other disciplines as well. For instance, how does Robin Sabino know that Gã, Ewe, and Akan are *the* substrate languages for Negerhollands when she compares syllable structure in these languages with the creole?

A positive point in my view is that creolists are starting to look at the diversity of languages in their field. They discover many counterexamples to the old adage that creoles have no morphology. Silvia Kouwenberg and Armin Schwegler discuss clitic pronouns in Berbice Dutch and Palenquero respectively. Eric Schiller claims in one of the papers on serial verbs that these are common enough in non-creole languages. Consequently creolists realize more and more that creole languages cannot be separated structurally from non-creole languages. One starts to wonder whether a separate field of creole studies is still justified.

*Old English and New* is as varied as the field of research of the man to whom it is dedicated. Fred Cassidy is a Jamaican-born linguist known for his work on lexicography, American dialects, Jamaican Creole and other subjects. The list of his publications given in the book starts in 1935 and ends in 1992 (and Cassidy is still publishing in 1995). The papers closely follow Cassidy's interests, and almost all the papers, whether they deal with Old English poetry or Native American place names in Wisconsin, cite his work. An interview with Cassidy and a brief biography complete the book. There is also an index.

Only seven of the twenty-seven papers have a Caribbean content. Barbara Lalla focuses on the role of English dialects (especially southwestern) in the formation of the Jamaican Creole lexicon. Richard Allsopp deals with the influence of creole languages on Caribbean English literature. Salikoko Mufwene makes an interesting contribution to the discussion of Africanisms in Gullah (the Creole of the coast of South Carolina and Georgia) in the most linguistically oriented of these papers. John Rickford contributes to the discussion of the absence of a radical creole in Barbados; he made recordings of two ladies in their eighties whose speech displays many more creole features than hitherto encountered in Barbados. Jean Da Costa discusses nautical influences on language in Jamaica, and links this to the importance of sailors in the emergence of the creole; she lists almost 150 sea terms, with etymologies. John Holm points to the fact that words in many creole languages are loan translations from West African languages, such as "day clean" for "day break," or "eye water" for "tear." Lise Winer gives some interesting examples of folk etymologies in Trinidad and Tobago, where the origin of words is a popular subject of discussion among local people.

The two volumes complement one another. *Atlantic Meets Pacific* deals with the theory of creole structure, and *Old English and New* deals with the lexicon. Both look at West Africa, but only the first looks at universals (or pan-creole universals) for an explanation, and only the second takes issues with the European source languages.

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*Ndyuka*. GEORGE L. HUTTAR & MARY L. HUTTAR. London: Routledge, 1994. 631 pp. (Cloth US\$ 150.00)

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This reference grammar of Ndyuka, the creole language of the Maroon tribe of the same name living in the Suriname interior, is based on extensive fieldwork carried out by the authors during some ten years between 1968 and 1990. It appears in Routledge's *Descriptive Grammar Series*, which aims to provide comprehensive grammatical descriptions in a uniform format designed to satisfy the needs of both crosslinguistic comparison and linguistic theory. In order to do so, the grammars in the series are relatively a-theoretical; that is, no particular theoretical framework is adopted and the emphasis is on the presentation rather than interpretation of data. As a result, the bulk of the present book is taken up by some 2,500(!) sample sentences, taken from a wide variety of native-produced texts, totaling some 350,000 words, supplemented with linguistic judgments and some translated material. The data illustrate syntactic, morphological, phonological, and lexical phenomena, while pragmatics and semantics are only cursorily touched upon. Evidently, the book's value has to be sought in its comprehensiveness and in the selection and structure of the data, rather than in explicit analysis.

How does the book perform on these accounts? Generally speaking, very well. The authors have accumulated an impressive amount of data, which they present in an orderly and transparent manner. Since the number of comprehensive reference grammars for creole languages is still very small, this volume fills a sorely felt need, especially since Ndyuka, along with the other Suriname creole languages, belongs to the group of so-called "radical" creoles, i.e., those that show maximal distance from their main lexical donor language and are assumed to be the "most creole" among the creoles. It is these languages which are often invoked in debates concerning the structure and genesis of creole languages (such as the controversy over universals vs. substrata) and which therefore have acquired an additional theoretical importance. It is very fortunate that for at least one of these languages a thorough description has now become available.

However, some serious criticism is in order regarding the way this rich source of data is made accessible to readers. A one-page "index of



selected forms and topics" (covering some twenty items) hardly enables the book to be used as a reference grammar. While this deficiency could have been partly remedied by the inclusion of an extensive table of contents, reflecting the microstructure of the book, this was not done. The (two-and-a-half-page) table of contents contains references to sections that contain well over thirty pages (e.g., section 1.11 on emphasis), without providing any information regarding that section's internal structure. In the actual text, however, the same section is subdivided down to the sixth level (e.g., section 1.11.2.1.3.1.), describing emphasis of a constituent by movement to initial position in the sentence. It is only through a combined usage of the index (via the entry "movement") and the table of contents (via the section on emphasis) that readers are directed to the place where this topic is treated. In other cases, when a particular topic is not included in the index, the only option is to go through the table of contents and check every section where it might possibly be treated. Unfortunately, the headings offer no help either: putting the word "syntax" on top of each of 372 pages is not very helpful for a reader who *knows* he is dealing with syntax but is looking for information on some specific syntactic construction.

To conclude, this book is a true gold mine of linguistic material, but users should be prepared to do some digging if they want to find what they are looking for.

*De geschiedenis van de WIC*. HENK DEN HEYER. Zutphen, Netherlands: De Walburg Pers, 1994. 208 pp. (Paper NLG 39.50)

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Finally, a comprehensive survey of the history of the Dutch West India Company (WIC). Why did it take so long to write this new history? The last one was published (by Menkman) in 1947. The other large Dutch overseas trading company, the Dutch East Indian Company (VOC), has been the focus of much more extensive scholarship and there now exists a wide variety of studies and surveys of the VOC, even including an interactive computer program allowing its users to re-enact the company's history.

It is difficult to imagine that the entertainment industry will ever market a similar device concerning the WIC. The company went bankrupt twice, lost most of its possessions overseas and seems ill-suited to serve as a monument for the overseas expansion or as proof of the business acumen of the Dutch merchant elite when their republic ranked proudly among the leading nations of the world. Rather, when confronted by a lengthy litany of mishaps, readers are forced to face the question of why the Dutch were so successful in trade and finance in Europe and even more so in Asia but ranked as only very minor players in the Atlantic.

On first sight Henk den Heyer's book seems to defy the disastrous history of the WIC; it is as lavishly illustrated and has the same design and layout as its companion volume telling the much more impressive history of the Dutch East India Company (Gaastra 1991). The twelve short chapters, however, quickly reveal what went wrong in the WIC. There might have been no need to worry during the first phase of the Company's history because substantial amounts of money were made by privateering, but all that changed during the period 1630-40 because of the abortive occupation of Portuguese Brazil. As seen from the surface the Dutch only seemed to follow the course of the French and British expansion in the Atlantic by constructing an Atlantic empire that contained plantation and settlement colonies as well as a number of trading forts. In reality, however, the Dutch plantations in Brazil never became as secure as those of the French and the British in the Caribbean. By the time Suriname had been conquered, the WIC had virtually no means to develop this colony.

All this begs the question of why the history of Dutch expansion in the Atlantic deviated so dramatically from that of the British and the French. Unfortunately, Den Heyer is unable to explain several of the main differences because the relevant records are missing. First of all, it is still difficult to understand why the diligent, cost-conscious, and pragmatic directors of the Company were so keen on conquering part of Portuguese Brazil. Before the conquest, the Dutch had been able to siphon off perhaps as much as half of the yearly sugar production. After the Dutch were expelled, the WIC continued to attack Portuguese shipping, and this policy made it impossible to resume their profitable position as interlopers. In the meantime, the French and the British had created a second Brazil in the Caribbean and the Dutch should have followed that policy rather than spending their resources by taking Brazil. As a result, the Company lost its ability to keep pace with the speed at which the Atlantic economy developed.

A second deviation from the French and British pattern of expansion can be situated in the first half of the eighteenth century, when the French

and British companies trading in the Atlantic with a monopoly had been replaced by private companies, which increased the pace of economic growth in the Atlantic dramatically. Why did it take so long for the Dutch merchant elite to figure out that the WIC had outlived its economic usefulness?

In many ways, it seems unfair to point to these missing links, because the author has done his utmost to provide us with a general history of the WIC in which all the recent research – such as it is – has been incorporated. In fact Den Heyer goes beyond this by providing us with some preliminary conclusions from his own research into the relatively important WIC trade with West Africa as well as the first careful description of the relatively efficient internal organization of the Company.

In spite of all this new research Den Heyer continues to support the traditional view which places the WIC in a nimbus of disaster, misfortune, and unfulfilled expectations. However, it seems doubtful whether a more successful company could have substantially increased the Dutch share in trade, colonization, and settlement in the Atlantic. Even a perfectly managed WIC was bound to become a losing operation since it was unable to construct a special niche of the sort that the VOC had created in Asia. In the Atlantic even the most competitive large-scale monopoly was unable to survive.

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*'Vrije' slaven: Een sociaal-historische studie over de dualistische slavenemancipatie op Nederlands Sint Maarten, 1816-1863.* A.F. PAULA. Zutphen, Netherlands: De Walburg Pers, 1993. 191 pp. (Cloth NLG 59.00)

*Ik ben eigendom van...: Slavenhandel en plantageleven.* BEA BROMMER (ed.). Wijk en Aalburg, Netherlands: Pictures Publishers, 1993. 144 pp. (Cloth NLG 49.50)

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On April 27, 1848, two months and two days after the proclamation of the Second Republic, members of the French Interim Government signed a decree abolishing slavery in the French colonies. By then, tidings of the coming emancipation had already been spread throughout the Caribbean. The slaves in Martinique, for example, did not wait for the official news from France. Serious riots broke out, forcing the governor to abolish slavery. His colleague in Guadeloupe followed suit a few days later. That's how the slaves on Saint Martin, under the administration of Guadeloupe, got the juridical freedom for which they had long been hoping.

All the slaves on Saint Martin? No, just those living in the French part of the island. Since 1648 the island had been divided into Dutch and French sections, though there were neither poles nor fences to separate them. The inhabitants of both sides were allowed to fish along the whole coast, and the salt-ponds were common property.

Not surprisingly, the 1657 slaves who lived on the Dutch side of the island did not continue to work quietly after the proclamation of abolition in the French part. They went on strike, and rose up to claim their freedom. The military power on the island consisted of one warship with a crew of fourteen people, so intervention would not have made sense. The island's commander decided to give the Dutch slaves *de facto* freedom even though they were not free *de jure*, according to the law. To achieve legal freedom, Dutch legislation was needed, and it was not until 1863 that the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies became official.

*'Vrije' slaven*, the commercial edition of A.F. Paula's 1992 Ph.D. dissertation ("Van slaaf tot quasi-slaaf") is a beautifully produced book. In contrast with what the title suggests, the author does not confine his discussion to the fifteen years (1848-1863) in which slavery did not exist anymore in at least one Dutch colony. He also treats in depth the period 1816-1848 when slaves in Saint Martin were not yet "free." Salt and

sugar were the most important staple commodities that this Caribbean island delivered at that time.

*Ik ben eigendom van...* focuses on files in the Municipal Archives of Helmond, the Netherlands, which deal with Carel Frederik Wesselman, a trader who became so rich that he was able to buy Castle Helmond. From the correspondence that he left behind, it appears that Wesselman kept contacts with trading firms in Suriname, and with his brother-in-law H.W.B. Plencker who lived there. Included in the "Wesselman Archives" are documents of Carel Frederik's brother, Daniel Cornelis, who had an interest in the West African slave trade.

Bea Brommer, the volume's editor, was managing director of the Municipal Museum in Helmond. She planned an exhibition on the slave trade and slavery, with the Wesselman files as her point of departure. This presentation was supposed to open in 1992, five hundred years after Columbus's arrival in the Americas. However, after a conflict with the municipal administration, Brommer abandoned the project. The exhibition was cancelled, but the accompanying book was already in such an advanced stage that it was eventually published as a "Bea Brommer Production."

The nicely produced book contains contributions by Brommer, Pieter Emmer, and Lidwine Bartels on the large-scale involvement of the Wesselman family with the Dutch slave trade. Other historical pieces by Brommer, René Baesjou, Jan van der Voort, and Gert Oostindie are primarily based on documents from the Wesselman collection. The article by Alex van Stipriaan goes deeper into the rather weak abolitionism in the Netherlands and in Suriname. The book is aimed at a large audience and contains more illustrations than text. The portrayals are well chosen, and often printed in color. What I miss is a chapter about Suriname's Bush Negroes, the population group that was brought into existence by marronage – the most successful form of resistance against slavery. The cycle would have been beautifully complete if this topic had been included. From African to prisoner, then the Middle Passage to America and the employment as slave in Suriname, next the escape to the forest, and finally the recognition as a free negro. Free again. Of course not all the slaves ran away, but not all Africans were made slaves either, and the book does contain an article about the consequences of the slave trade for Africa. But since the Wesselman family didn't correspond with runaway slaves, nothing could be found about them in the archives.

*Bosnegers en overheid in Suriname: De ontwikkeling van de politieke verhouding 1651-1992.* BEN SCHOLTENS. Paramaribo: Afdeling Cultuurstudies/Minov, 1994. 237 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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Arguably, the story of the Suriname Maroons is one of the most momentous chapters in Caribbean and indeed American history. Escaping colonial repression in the coastal plantation zone, runaway slaves managed against all odds to recreate lives of their own in the tropical rain forests of the interior. From modest beginnings in the late seventeenth century, the Suriname Maroon population has increased to an estimated 50,000 today, divided into six distinct ethnic groups of which the Saramaka and the Ndjuka are the largest.

From the 1930s study of the Herskovitses to the present, both Dutch and U.S. scholars have contributed to the erection of a scholarly monument worthy of the remarkable achievements of these former slaves and their descendants. We now know much of the historical origins of the various groups, of their oral traditions, their religions, their wider cultural expressions, and so on. Much creativity, empathy, and craftsmanship have been invested in this body of scholarship, and some of the work on the Suriname Maroons indeed stands at the pinnacle of Caribbean and Afro-American scholarship.

Remarkably, a thorough survey of colonial and postcolonial policies regarding the Maroons was still wanting. While many studies focused on the initial period of brutal warfare and subsequent ambivalent co-existence of two essentially discrete systems of governance within one colony, far less was published on the following postslavery and eventually postcolonial periods. Ben Scholtens's *Bosnegers en overheid in Suriname: De ontwikkeling van de politieke verhouding 1651-1992* therefore potentially fills a gap both in the relevant historiography and in our understanding of the present situation of the Suriname Maroons. Though the title may suggest otherwise, the book centers on the question of how colonial and postcolonial administrations dealt with these stubborn "states within a state."

In the first two chapters, Scholtens surveys the early history of the Maroons until the abolition of slavery in 1863. Based on the justified assumption that this is the period best covered in the extant historiography,

he dedicates relatively few pages to this formative period, and indeed adds more nuance than fundamentally new insight here. The next chapter takes us through the period 1863-1945 when, in spite of a hesitant upgrading of the administration's interference with *bosland* affairs and increasing Maroon participation in the colonial economy (mainly of young adult males engaged in lucrative business as boatmen on the rivers and in the explorations of the interiors), Maroon society remained relatively isolated from coastal society and its new economic, administrative, and ethnic dilemmas.

The fourth chapter discusses the period 1945-92, in which Suriname made the transition from a colonial status through one of autonomy and democracy within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and finally, in 1975, to full independence. The latter period witnessed a series of nightmares: economic collapse, political impotence and corruption, a military dictatorship, and a domestic war which affected the Maroon population in dramatic ways. Indeed, as Scholtens demonstrates, this period witnessed a gradual breakdown of the Maroon's isolation. Yet the fruits of all this have been bitter. Chapter 5 provides a closer analysis of post-1945 policies towards the Maroons, with occasional mention of policies regarding the other inhabitants of the interior, the Amerindians, as well. Scholtens convincingly demonstrates how most postcolonial administrators and political parties shared the same denigrating assumptions as their Dutch forebears, and how up to now there has been no consistent – much less successful – policy to improve the situation of the Maroons. One wonders, indeed, whether the breaking of the previous isolation has not been detrimental to the Maroons. An English-language summary concludes the book's main text.

There is much to be learned from this book. Even so, there are some shortcomings, and not only in editorial matters such as redundancies and the flawed English of the final summary. Scholtens rightly points to the dilemma of two discrete systems of governance within one country, yet his analysis of issues such as land rights stops short of offering clear conclusions. Likewise, though he convincingly demonstrates that "Paramaribo" did little to stimulate economic development of the Maroons, he leaves us wondering about what could have been done and, perhaps even more to the point, what the Maroons really wanted and want themselves. In fact, based as it is on administrative archives, the book sticks very close to an analysis of the (post)colonial perspective, largely ignoring the Maroons' voices. Moreover, Scholtens only skims the surface of the contemporary predicament of Maroon culture in an era in which half of all Maroons have migrated (by choice or necessity) to Paramaribo, French Guiana, or the

Netherlands. In such circumstances, what *is* the fate of a "traditional" Maroon culture borne by groups in the interior that are once again quite isolated, demographically ageing, and unstable if not moribund?

There is tragedy in posing these questions, even if a serious study by a serious scholar deserves such questioning. Ben Scholtens, a Dutch historian who worked since 1983 in Suriname, was undoubtedly the most active historian, and indeed the most prolific social scientist working and living in the country. He would certainly have responded to my queries in his enthusiastic and well-informed manner, whether in a direct reaction or in yet another article. Unfortunately, this was not to be. In the fall of 1993, Ben Scholtens was brutally killed in his house in Paramaribo. The book, which at the same time would have been his doctoral thesis, therefore had to be presented posthumously, in 1994, in Nijmegen. Those responsible for the publication of the present book/dissertation choose not to mention this grievous story. One thanks and admires them, and particularly his supervisor and good friend, Joop Vernooy, for seeing his work through to publication. It now stands, not only as another stone in the scholarly edifice erected for the Suriname Maroons, but also as a token of memory to Ben Scholtens.

*Suriname: Het steentje in de Nederlandse schoen: Van onafhankelijkheid tot raamverdrag.* MARTEN SCHALKWIJK. Paramaribo: Firkos Suriname, 1994. 356 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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Suriname's ordeals since its 1975 independence seem never-ending. Marten Schalkwijk, a civil servant-turned-academic, was at the center of many of them from 1980 to 1993. His memoirs are rich with interesting, if depressing, stories and insights. One reason for Schalkwijk's special focus on the Netherlands was his assignment as a principal advisor on Dutch relations for his government. A graduate of the second class of foreign service officers, his first assignment was to the (last) meetings of the CONS (Netherlands-Suriname Commission on Development Cooperation) in 1981 and 1982. The military coup of 1980 had created new energies and excitement, and the CONS was suddenly an arena of some drama.

But then came the killings of December 1982. Schalkwijk's reaction



was characteristic of many in the bureaucracy at the time. He ducked in horror but hung onto his job at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Buza). "The curtain had fallen and the [revolutionary] experiment was definitely at its end, at least for me" (p. 37).

Disgusted with the continual but arbitrary reorganization of Foreign Affairs under the military regime, Schalkwijk observes that "reorganization without centralization" leaves you with no policy (p. 83). Most reorganizations, he found, were simply excuses to dump unwanted personnel. Buza was stricken by a "parachutist" personnel policy whereby political friends of those in power, regardless of their knowledge or training, were given top positions. More importantly, the inability of people to work together without suspiciousness or loyalty to some outside agency (party, ideology, ethnicity) paralyzed even the simplest task.

Among the best of the Dutch diplomats, according to Schalkwijk, was Dirk Jan van Houten, Ambassador in the mid-1980s. Secret talks between Van Houten and Lt. Etienne Boerenveen designed to lay the groundwork for restored cooperation collapsed when Boerenveen was arrested on drug charges in Miami. Shortly thereafter, as the Foreign Ministry was taken over by anti-Dutch hardliners, Van Houten was declared *persona non grata* and forced to leave. After the restoration of democracy in 1987, Suriname's new government anticipated a full reconciliation with the Netherlands. But the Dutch, apparently resolved to play the tough uncle, would not oblige. Schalkwijk argues that the leadership (President Ramsewak Shankar, Premier Henck Arron, and Foreign Minister Eddy Sedoc) was unequipped to meet this challenge. Arron, in particular, is accused of bearing resentments against the Dutch for not having condemned the 1980 coup that toppled his government (p. 123).

Negotiations with The Hague were repeatedly snarled by the Dutch introducing ever-changing conditions for development aid and by Suriname's inability, for one reason or another, to accept them. These included an effort to "internationalize" Dutch aid (through multilateral channels), preparation of a multi-year development plan, elaborate strings of accountability, reduction of the military's power, judicial accounting for the December murders, an end to a civil uprising by the Maroons (which had begun in 1986), a crackdown on drug-trafficking, and, most difficult of all, a structural adjustment program involving currency devaluation, privatization, and a sharp reduction in the government's budget (pp. 199-203). Schalkwijk points out that these conditions placed Suriname under unacceptable pressures, virtually crippling any developmental prospects. Government acceptance of almost any one of these conditions could prompt

another coup, such as the one in 1990 which was glibly excused by the military as facilitating early elections.

Dutch Prime Minister Lubbers's casual Cabinet discussion (in 1991) regarding reincorporation of Suriname into a new Commonwealth relationship threw Suriname politics off balance when it was made public – just as voters were preparing for the 1991 elections. Schalkwijk's description of the *Raamverdrag* (Draft Treaty) of 1992 suggests a partial acceptance of these closer ties (p. 228). But despite the areas of agreement, the old sausage-slicing politics resumed and Suriname came away with nothing more than a few stop-gap aid disbursements.

While Schalkwijk may be frustrated and upset at the Dutch, he is even more despairing at the byzantine politics of his own society. Even within a fairly stable consociational (i.e., multiethnic) government, Paramaribo is torn by distrust and lack of nation-feeling. Decisions, with their differential impact on ethnic groups, can be held up for long periods. Military blandishments (and threats), together with an abundance of laundered drug money, can sabotage the civic honor of many in this fragmented society. Schalkwijk's solution, to increase government decentralization, is interesting but has been betrayed by the current democratic government. In any case, local and regional government can never become viable until the country's human and physical resources, including the frozen Dutch aid, can be restored.